

ANDEAN FOLK KNITTING

Traditions and Techniques from Peru and Bolivia



Cynthia Gravelle LeCount



Andean Folk Knitting

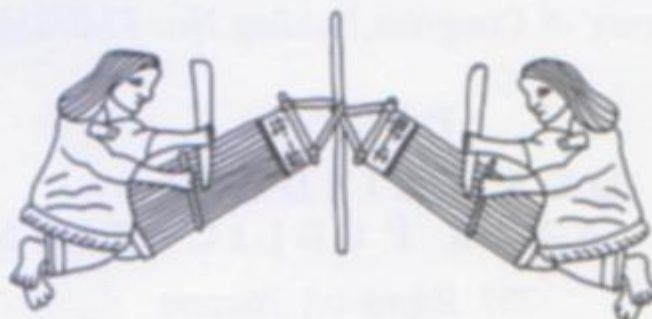
Traditions and Techniques from Peru and Bolivia

By

Cynthia Gravelle LeCount

with Photographs and Drawings by the Author

Foreword by Loren McIntyre



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*To the warm-hearted and generous people of Peru and Bolivia
and to my beautiful daughter, Alexis.*

Front cover: Bead- and button-embellished fiesta ch'ullu, or knitted cap, from Ccatca, near Cuzco, Peru.
Complete information about the photos appearing on the front and back covers can be found on page 66.

Illustrations by the author
Photographs by the author unless otherwise credited

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Foreword

Having spent years of my life in the Andes of Peru and Bolivia — usually in pursuit of pictures of native people and their spectacular environment — I admire every page of *Andean Folk Knitting* and am amazed by all the things I failed to observe that Cynthia Gravelle LeCount has captured in this book. From the time I first traveled to the highlands, in 1947, I was aware that handmade clothing held strong cultural meanings that varied from place to place. So singular and colorful are Indian garments and accessories that one could hardly be unaware. But I never learned to appreciate contemporary weaving or knitting much beyond the pleasure of shooting a backstrap loom loaded with color — and thereby missed out on much enjoyable mountain lore until I opened these pages.

As with many Andean travelers, I often wore cultural blinders that directed my gaze into the pre-Columbian past which dominates both museum exhibits and literature concerning the enormous highland region of South America. While writing a book, *The Incredible Incas* for National Geographic, I dealt with contemporary people and places as descendants of illustrious ancestors, and I focused on archeology, yellowing chronicles, and surviving monuments. Meanwhile, history was being made all around me; old ways were changing into new.

Cynthia perceived what was happening. On her second trip to South America she was dismayed to see that friends she'd made on a 1971 journey were abandoning the traditional costumes of their parents and grandparents. Possessed by a strong historical sense as well as a lifelong fascination with folk art, she began to document knitting, an altogether post-Conquest way of working fibers into apparel.

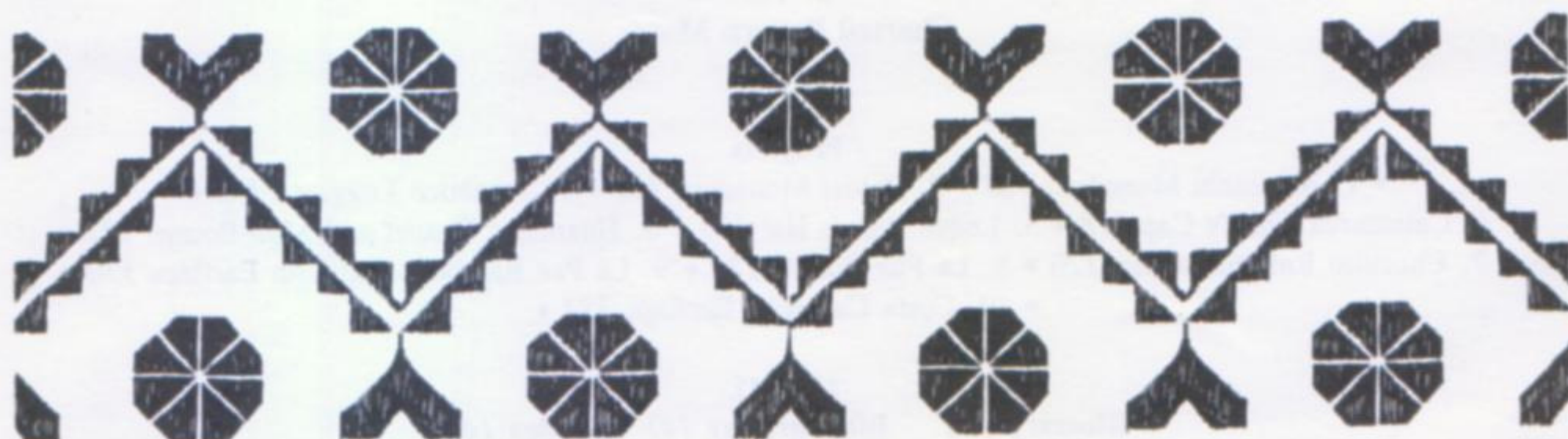
Her study has taken a long time, and I think only a person with her perseverance and plural personalities could have managed to do it alone and without financial endowment. Cynthia in her California home, complete with family and garden is a distinct personality from Cynthia the dauntless traveler who ventured alone to remote mountain villages in search of material for this book. She made five long journeys through a region nearly twice as large as Alaska and more mountainous. She traveled by truck, train, bus, bicycle, and "el carrito de San Fernando, una cuadra a pie y la otra andando" — one block on foot and the next by walking. She followed trails as lofty as the summit of Mt. Rainier.

Other American women have traveled alone in the high Andes, but few have spun memorable literature out of their experience. That is where a third personality of Cynthia LeCount comes into play: she is a researcher more meticulous than many a Ph.D., and more enthusiastic than most.

When she began this book, Cynthia turned to reference libraries and museums in search of background for her task. She found little. No authoritative account existed. And so she dedicated herself to pure field research, talking to Andean knitters themselves, photographing their handicraft and art, and writing from scratch. She says, "The project proved to be a tremendous undertaking; many regions certainly warrant further study."

That may be. However, all future researchers, all studies in other Andean regions and in future times, must reckon with this book. It is the definitive volume on Andean folk knitting. And Cynthia Gravelle LeCount is the authority.

Loren McIntyre
Arlington, Virginia
March, 1990



Acknowledgements

Everyone with whom I have come in contact during the production of this book has been wonderfully helpful and supportive. I am grateful for the participation of all of the people and organizations mentioned here. My greatest thanks go to the hundreds of Peruvian and Bolivian knitters whose work I examined and photographed. These wonderful people not only answered questions, got out their needles to show me techniques, and introduced me to other knitters; they also offered hospitality and invited me to participate in family life, festivals and ceremonies. Without their cooperative spirit and generosity, this book would not have been possible.

The assistance of the following museum directors, curators and staff members was fundamental to the success of my research. Marion Rembur of the Ethnology Lab at the Musée de l'Homme in Paris welcomed me to examine the knit textiles there. She later sent photographs and valuable information tracked down from rare antique French ethnographic texts. Many other people provided access to museum collections. I appreciated the chance to study the knitting and to reproduce photographs of specimens. I especially wish to thank the following people: Ann P. Rowe, curator of Western Hemisphere textiles at The Textile Museum, Washington, D.C.; Margaret MacLean, then at Lowie Museum of Anthropology, University of California at Berkeley; Director Hugo Daniel Ruiz of the Museo Nacional de Ethnografía y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia; and Elizabeth Rojas of the Museo Antropológico de la Universidad de San Francisco Xavier de Chuquisaca, Sucre, Bolivia. Margot Schevill of the Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, Rhode Island; and Marguerite Lavin of The Brooklyn Museum, New York, helped by sending photos; Richard Rutt and Paul Doughty answered various questions that I posed.

During the years it has taken to complete this project, Sue and Loren McIntyre maintained interest and faith in my project. Loren let me reproduce some of his wonderful slides. He also found time in his demanding photojournalist's schedule to write the Foreword and to comment on the text.

Special thanks go to collectors Jeff Appleby and Jonathan Hill, whose exceptional knit pieces appear in the color plates. Other collectors eagerly shared their Andean textiles with me. Meredith Strauss, Roger Yorke, Nilda Callañaupa, Amy Pofcher, Robert Duff, Ann Houston, Dennis Randall, Ann Möller Nielsen,

Steven Berger, Mary Walker Phillips, and Anne Blinks. Their generosity enabled me to research and depict a greater variety of Andean knitting.

Many individuals willingly contributed their expertise, and I am very grateful to all of them. Archeologist Federico Kauffmann Doig of Lima, Peru, answered questions related to the context of the knitting. Julia Chambí of Cuzco, charming daughter of the late Peruvian photographer Martín Chambí, allowed me to study her father's photo archives and to reproduce several portraits here. Elayne Zorn and Juan Cutipa who did field work in Sacaca, Bolivia, generously sent me photos and information about the latest Sakaka knitting style. Roland Bergman who was living in Puno at the time explained the geography and agriculture of the Lake Titicaca basin.

Lynn Meisch's contagious enthusiasm for my project inspired me to persevere. Lynn read and corrected the fibers chapter and Lawrence Carpenter corrected the Quechua terms in that section. Adele Cahlander analyzed and identified the weaves and braids used in ties and edgings embellishing some of the knit items. Karen Searle came to my rescue and figured out some mysterious and complicated knitting techniques for the Projects section. Peruvian textile artist Nilda Callañaupa demonstrated and wrote directions for *puntas*, the knitted rickrack-like edging typical of Chinchero, her Cuzco area village.

Test knitters who tried out the patterns included Lela Brownlee, Cathy Daly, Jean Hogenson, Caroline Lokken, Terry Klepinski, Kathleen Martin, Sandra Morris, Pat O'Connor, Mary Skoy, Lynn van der Haar and Tamara Spratling. The pattern graphs were meticulously charted from the original knit pieces by Heidi Stolp. David Le Count devised the computer pattern graphs and lived with me more or less patiently for years in a house strewn with papers, drawings and knitting.

Gary Slack of Studio One produced the beautiful color plates, allowing me to arrange and rearrange caps for hours. Bruce Klepinger, Dennis Randall and Karin Nelson let me use some of their wonderful Peruvian costume photographs. An *Américas* magazine article thoughtfully sent by Edward Lowe led to the important discovery of Martín Chambí's work. Photographer Edward Ranney and the author of the article, Roderic Ai Camp, helped me to contact Chambí's daughter, Julia Chambí in Peru.

Ulises Murguía Bellido of Potosí, Bolivia, and Alejandro Cabrera Reyes of Cuzco, Peru, both lent

superior pieces from their collections for me to photograph. Peruvian artist Pedro Puerta showed me around the coastal ruins of Huaca del Dragón, near Trujillo. In Lima, Nora Mendoza Perez, Enrique Alva Balderrama, Olga Samanez, and their families offered their homes to me on numerous occasions over a ten-year period. Alicia Valle generously provided my "home away from home" in Cuzco, and her delightful family, especially Dionicia and Antonia, always made me feel welcome. Cornelio Martinez, then Port Commander with the Armada Boliviana on Lake Titicaca, was also helpful.

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The following people have helped in hundreds of ways. I owe special thanks to my daughter Alexis Nina Katrine, my parents Molly and Carl Gravelle, and many friends — Emy Werlin, Steve Fuchslin, Claire and William Gilbert, Debbie and Joel Barney, Georgia and Steven Chun, Bobbie and Arnold Koriakin, Denise J. Crowley, Sharon and David Hunt, Mimi Manning, Anna Sanchez, RoseAnn and Bill Crabtree, Judy Schneider, Susan Hodges, Pamela Powels, Miguel G. Flores, Alexander Müller and Renato Leardi.



Introduction



1. *Anastasia Bacra and infant son from the area northwest of Ravelo, Bolivia. The baby's hat was knit by his father.*

Kaleidoscopic patterns and glowing colors characterize the knitted folk art of Peru and Bolivia. Created by the Quechua, Aymara and Chipaya people of the Central Andes, this knitting is unexcelled in design, variety and craftsmanship.

My fascination with Andean folk art began on my travels to South America in 1971. The knitting delighted me the first time I saw it — rainbow-hued caps on dancers whirling and stomping to a brass band at a raucous fiesta on the shores of Lake Titicaca. During that trip, I bought a dozen wool caps, each from a different area of Peru, each strikingly unique.

Back in the United States, I found that few books on South American textiles contained references to knitting, but that volumes had been written on pre-Hispanic Andean textiles (none of which were knit). Thus I was able to research the knitting-related textile techniques which were used before the Europeans introduced knitting. I also visited numerous North and South American and European museums. But historical research on Andean knitting is hampered by the fact that most museum collections emphasize the wealth of pre-Hispanic artifacts, and contain relatively few examples of antique or modern knit pieces. To

discover more about contemporary knitting technology and the traditions currently influencing Andean artisans, I returned to the Andes many times to talk with the knitters and to photograph them with their work.

The research and fieldwork for this book covers Peru and Bolivia, two countries in the central Andes which are especially rich in knitted textiles. I decided to research only the knitted folk art, which I defined as traditional items knit by the indigenous and mestizo people for their own use, regardless of the materials used. These knit costume elements play an important role in daily life and form a significant part of the cultural heritage. As such, they constitute true folk art.

As I traveled, I noticed that in many areas traditional dress was worn less frequently, and that more imported factory-made clothing was available in the markets every year. There was obviously a need to preserve examples of knitted ethnic clothing and accessories and to document their cultural context before "modernization" set in completely. And since the knitting motifs and techniques differ markedly from place to place, I wanted to identify characteristic regional styles. I was also interested in learning specific knitting techniques. The project proved to be



2. Typical Andean transportation. Truck drivers paint optimistic messages or names on their vehicles. Emblazoned across the front of this old Volvo is "Vuelven los Valientes," or "The Brave Ones Return."

a tremendous undertaking, given the hundreds of styles and the large geographic area; many regions certainly warrant further study.

I discovered that in the Andean countryside the men rarely appear without *ch'ullus*, the snug warm caps which serve as indicators of regional and ethnic identity, social status, and sometimes even of age. (Ch'ullu is the Quechua word for a knit cap; the Aymara word is *llucho*. Spanish-speakers refer to a cap as a *chullo*, a *gorro* or a *pasa montaña*.)

In addition to the colorful caps that first attracted me, I found beautiful knitted armwarmers, leggings, socks, and purses — also important elements of ethnic dress. Men and boys wear the decorative armwarmers, *mangas*, which cover the forearms like a second set of sleeves. They also wear the patterned leggings, *polainas*, and the brilliant socks, *medias*. Women keep their money in knit purses, *monederos* or *bolsitas*, rolled up and stuck in their blouses or hung from their belts. Special knitted bags hold magical objects used for certain ceremonies.

Of all these traditional accessories, knit caps or *ch'ullus* are the most prevalent and the most visually exciting because of their amazing variety of colors, designs and shapes. The men and boys wear them most often. In some areas young girls wear ruffled caps into early adolescence. Mature women rarely don them, and then only as fiesta attire.

The role of the men in knitting their own caps, and those of their sons and daughters, has been greatly underestimated. In researching the knitted folk art,

this discovery interested me tremendously. Not only do men create most Andean knitting, they create the pieces with superior workmanship and unbelievably complex design arrangements.

Fieldwork in the Andes is not without difficulties. With its rugged terrain, harsh climate, innumerable remote communities, and unreliable transportation, the Andean highland area presents formidable obstacles to a thorough study of any aspect of its people or their textiles. Villages where the traditional culture remains intact are usually the least accessible. Those in isolated places can be reached only after a long truck ride or several days' walk, or both. For instance, to reach the village of Chipaya, high on the barren salt flats of western Bolivia, I rode huddled and freezing all night in the back of an open truck. Arriving at sunrise in a desolate town, I borrowed an old bicycle for the last 25 kilometers, bumping over tundra-like ground and through a shallow ice-edged river to Chipaya. In this settlement of thatched adobe huts, there is no running water or electricity to make life easier. One day while out searching for the pink flamingoes which frequent a nearby salt lake, I met an old Chipayan along the trail. He greeted me and wanted to know where I was from. When I told him, he asked, "Is that in *'este mundo o el otro mundo?*" ("in this world or the other world?") — not an easy question to answer!

Local markets and fiestas often provided the most opportunities to see people in costume and to locate the knitters. When I arrived in an isolated



3. In the Cordillera Real in Bolivia, the highest peak is called Condoriri, "Home of the Condor." Photo by Loren McIntyre.

village where the people spoke Quechua or Aymara, I communicated through a local interpreter, or with lots of gestures. But once I had conveyed my interest and enthusiasm for their knitting, they allowed me into their world, invariably responding with friendliness.

I usually traveled alone. This surprised people, both because they know how strenuous Andean travel is, and because women there generally do not have the freedom or means to travel unnecessarily, especially not once they have a family. As a female alone, I was non-threatening and this greatly facilitated communication. My Polaroid camera proved to be an invaluable tool. Instant portraits of the knitters and their families were the most welcome and least obtrusive gifts I could offer.

After photographing many knitters and their knit costume accessories, I hesitated to name them and their specific villages in this book. However, I had become acquainted with the knitters, their spouses and children. They had generously shared information, food and shelter with me, and I felt it was important to give them credit for the superb examples used in this book. As South American textile expert Lynn Meisch pointed out, they are not anonymous artisans, but well-known and respected members of their communities. Since identifying specific localities is pertinent to classifying regional characteristics, and to making the book useful to others researching the subject, I named the knitters whenever possible, and the towns nearest their communities.

I have outlined the historic and cultural setting

of the knitted folk art in Chapters One and Two to show the interrelationship between Andean society, and textile use and production. Because the knitted hats worn today perpetuate the ancient custom of regional headgear, Chapter Three describes the various styles of pre-Hispanic headgear, as well as contemporary knitted accessories. Chapter Four discusses knitting customs. Chapter Five analyzes color and design use and details regional design characteristics. Fibers are described in Chapter Six. An explanation of the knitting construction methods in Chapter Seven further contributes to our understanding and appreciation, and I have developed patterns for duplicating eleven traditional pieces using Andean techniques. The numerous charts of traditional design motifs will inspire knitters, weavers, embroiderers and other textile artists.

What makes Andean knitting so special? Handknitting with the complex patterning and fine gauge typical of contemporary Peruvian and Bolivian work is rare in other parts of the world today. The superb quality and aesthetics of Andean knitting impress even the most skilled North American knitters. Furthermore, the highlanders make and wear hand-knit clothing and accessories which have significance for them, their families and communities as opposed to the impersonality of much of our own manufactured clothing. The fascinating cultural context, plus the meticulous craftsmanship, infinite variety of motifs and rich embellishment of Andean knitted folk art combine to awe and inspire us.



1:1 During the 1920s and 30s, Peruvian photographer Martín Chambi made many portraits of people in the Cuzco, Peru area. This boy from Quiquijana is dressed in a woven poncho with bands of ikat patterning, and a knitted ch'ullu. He carries a woven chuspa, or coca bag.

The Cultural Setting of Andean Knitting



1:2 Amantani Island in Lake Titicaca between Peru and Bolivia.

Early Andean Civilizations

Early explorers chronicled the Inca civilization making it the best known of all pre-hispanic South American cultures. Yet three thousand years of Andean peoples preceded the Incas. In the early 1400s, when the Inca were a small tribal group in the Cuzco Valley of Peru, almost one hundred other groups, speaking nearly as many languages and dialects, inhabited the Central Andes. Many of these societies had attained a high degree of civilization when the Incas began their conquests around 1440.

The Quechua, a large and powerful tribe living near Abancay, fell to their Inca neighbors after an attack by another tribe weakened their defenses. (Rowe, 1963). The Incas probably spoke the Quechua tongue, which they called *runa simi*, or language of the people. Realizing the efficiency of a common tongue to unite the growing empire, the Incas imposed the Quechua language on all the subjects. Since none of the earlier cultures had a written language (nor did the Incas), "official" Inca historians easily supplanted the oral tribal histories, folklore and songs with those of the Incas, effectively erasing the cultural memories. Under this intense acculturation program, the Incas claimed that before their arrival "all of South America was a cultural void." (Cieza, 1959.)

Thus, the Incas receive credit for achievements that originated in conquered regions. The Incas excelled at political and social organization, road-building and architecture, and inherited other techniques, such as engineering, stonemasonry, weaving and pottery.

As the Incas expanded their empire, they initially created a great deal of confusion among villagers. Groups of workers and dissidents were moved from one area to another without their families. Loyal Quechua-speaking administrators and teachers were sent everywhere in the empire to govern and teach the unifying language. Areas of potential conflict were overseen by loyal soldiers and officials sent from Cuzco. Through the work of these local administrators, the subjects were organized into a slave-like existence with every aspect of life and death predetermined.

Beginnings of Colonial Rule

In 1527, the Inca Emperor Huayna Capac died of plague. Upon his death, two of his sons, Atahualpa and Huascar, began a bitter struggle for succession as leader of the empire. Much of the population had been weakened or decimated by the epidemic. In the same year, Spanish explorer Francisco Pizarro, his soldiers, horses and firearms, landed in Tumbés on the northern coast of Peru.

At his Cuzco headquarters, Huascar donned the royal fringe, insignia of the Inca Emperor. Soon after, Atahualpa also declared himself Lord of Quito and detained his father's enormous army in the north. Thus, the huge empire created by the last three Inca Emperors was divided. The quarreling half-brothers were young and made many impetuous decisions during the course of the brutal civil war that ensued.

In battle, Atahualpa's warriors were outnumbered but succeeded in trapping Huascar. Atahualpa decreed that no relative or supporter of Huascar was to remain alive. A massive slaughter took place in Cuzco in front of Huascar, who was later dismembered and thrown in the river. The holy city was plundered and its people were left horribly demoralized.

Conquest

During several years of Peruvian explorations, Francisco Pizarro and his men traversed searing deserts and wild mountainous regions where the populace had been devastated by civil war. Spurred on by tales of fabulous wealth, the soldiers headed for Cajamarca, site of the Inca Atahualpa's camp. An exhausted band of 168 Spaniards and Indian auxiliaries finally reached the Cajamarca valley in 1532. They entered the town while Atahualpa deliberated at a nearby hot springs. Through emissaries, the Lord of Quito already knew something of the bearded strangers. Few in number, they carried firearms and rode on huge monsters reputed to kill men. After enticing Atahualpa to return to town for a meeting, the Spaniards captured him in a *melée* that left thousands of Incas dead.

By threatening the distinguished prisoner with death, the merciless Pizarro demanded more and more gold, until Atahualpa promised to fill a room once with gold and twice with silver if he were set free. Exquisitely-wrought treasures were brought, only to be melted down into ingots.

In spite of the gold being delivered as promised, Pizarro ordered Atahualpa garroted, fearing his possible vengeance as well as attempts to liberate him. But Pizarro soon realized the authority of a new Inca ruler was needed to maintain order. He recruited Manco Inca, half-brother to the dead rulers who had instigated civil war. Manco was rightfully the fifteenth Inca, but his forced role was of puppet king, serving the Spaniards. Newly-arrived conquerors demanded a share of the riches. Manco Inca was imprisoned in Cuzco and treated savagely to extort more gold, or "sweat of the sun."

Pizarro's brother Hernando eventually freed Manco Inca who promised gold, but who in fact enlisted two other brothers and led a massive uprising. Manco's armies seized Cuzco and burned the city. Under siege for almost one year, 190 Spaniards persisted only because many local insurgents had joined their forces. A desperate Pizarro called for



1:3 A well-dressed young man from Q'eramarca proudly poses for Peruvian photographer Martín Chambi circa 1928. Only his woven poncho and cap remain as elements of indigenous dress. His felt hat, belt, pants, braid-decorated vest and jacket are all of Hispanic origin. Men in the Rachqui and Q'eramarca countryside wear identical knit caps today.

reinforcements who eventually arrived from northern colonies. The cavalry and warriors repeatedly fought off thousands of Incas wielding fist-sized stones in slingshots, or bows with six-foot arrows.

Peruvian historian Dr. Luis A. Pardo has explained why the Inca defenses finally weakened. "Manco Inca's great rebellion failed in the end because of bitter memories. Many Indians hated the Incas worse than the Spaniards. Great chiefs with large contingents passed to the Spanish side." (L. McIntyre, 1975.) Devastated, Manco Inca retreated to Vilcabamba, where he was stabbed to death by Spanish dissidents. Members of this group also murdered Francisco Pizarro in Lima.

In 1542, Charles V of Spain issued the *Nuevas Leyes*, or New Laws proclaiming the ideal of equality for all men. The New Laws revoked many conquerors' and settlers' privileges and declared the Inca people direct subjects of the Spanish crown. Purportedly they were free and entitled to basic rights and decent labor conditions. Dominican fathers preached "Indian rights" and urged land owners to free their slaves. At the same time, cultural disintegration was compounded as zealous missionaries began to coerce the Inca descendants into

accepting a new religion. Furthermore, the newly-formed government proved to be corrupt and many "Indian rights" laws were later repealed.

The area of present-day highland Bolivia was still in Inca hands when Spaniards arrived from Peru in 1538. They created the Spanish colony called Upper Peru, although it was located south of Peru. Revolutionary movements against Spanish rule began early there when revolts by *mestizos* broke out in La Paz in 1661.

Over the next 150 years, various insurrections against colonial authorities in both Peru and Bolivia were unsuccessful until the campaign of General Simon Bolivar and his Chief Lieutenant, Antonio José de Sucre. They freed Peru from Spanish domination in 1824 with battles at Junín and Ayacucho. In 1825, Sucre was sent by Bolivar to free Upper Peru, which was named Bolivia in his honor. Both Bolivar and Sucre served Peru and Bolivia respectively as first presidents. Bolivia lost its Pacific coast provinces to Chile and became a landlocked nation after defeat in the 1879 War of the Pacific. (Stryker-Post, 1984.)

Cultural Descendants

The Quechua-speaking people whose ancestors became part of the Inca realm are now called Quechuas, or sometimes "contemporary Incas." Quechuas number approximately six million in Peru and almost as many in Bolivia. Aymara-speaking people live mainly in the Lake Titicaca basin of Bolivia, in the Department of Puno on the Peruvian lakeshore, and on several islands in Lake Titicaca.

A third group called the Chipaya was largely unaffected by Inca battles and Spanish political

maneuvers because the conquering armies ignored their isolated part of the Bolivian altiplano. The several hundred remaining Chipaya live in turf-block houses with thatched roofs, at an altitude of 12,000 feet in the province of Oruro, Bolivia. A white crust of salt covers much of their arid land, preventing cultivation of more than the hardy *quinoa* grain. They subsist by raising sheep and llamas, and hunting waterfowl. Their language, *Puquina*, is related to that spoken by the Uru peoples of the south Lake Titicaca area, and has no relation to either Quechua or Aymara. Thus a separate linguistic group called Uro-Chipaya, which includes Puquina has been identified. (LaBarre, 1963.) The Chipaya culture is well-preserved due to its extreme isolation in an inhospitable region.

Environment

Spectacular Andean ranges, *cordilleras*, dominate Peru and Bolivia, dividing them into highly contrasting regions — lands of chilly deserts, steamy jungles and stupendous mountains. Complex land divisions made by pre-Hispanic peoples are in accord with modern geographic principles. With tropical valleys below and glacial peaks above, three diverse zones are home to the highlanders. Temperate mountain valleys called the *Quechua* make up the lowest zone. The *Puna* or altiplano denotes the arid, windswept plateau between the two main Andean ranges. It is an area ranging in altitude from 11,000 to 14,000 feet. The highest zone of all is the desolate *Puna Brava*, from 14,000 feet to 18,000 feet. The altiplano is enormous, six hundred miles long by sixty miles wide. Lying at an average altitude of



1:4 Stone Church, Calamarca, LaPaz Department, Bolivia.

13,000 feet, it begins in the Cuzco valley and continues into southeastern Bolivia, encompassing the Lake Titicaca area.

Only shepherds and miners live at the upper limit of permanent habitation, around 14,000 feet, where herds of llama, alpaca, and vicuña forage dry grasses. In both Peru and Bolivia, the high valleys and the loftier Andean regions including the altiplano are called "the highlands," and the inhabitants are known as "highlanders." The highlands of Peru are also known as the *Sierra*. A person living in the country, or *el campo*, may be referred to in Spanish as a *campesino/a* or *indigena*. Over thousands of years the highlanders have adapted to life at such high altitudes by developing larger-than-normal hearts, lungs, and spleens, plus extra red blood corpuscles. "Courageous, hardy and tenacious" best describe the people who dwell in the harsh and magnificent Central Andes.

Daily Life

With the exception of the Taquile Islanders, the people pictured in this book do not knit commercially. They work at other occupations to earn their livelihoods, making knitted garments exclusively for themselves and their families. The highlanders who are involved in farming, livestock-raising or mining, must struggle daily with the environment. They diversify their activities to ensure a variety of income possibilities.

Many of the highland people depend on agriculture as their main source of income. Most agricultural land is owned by the *ayllu*, or highland community, but very little of it is suitable for cultivation. Families often tend small communal plots at several different altitudes to allow some variation in the crops grown. The hardiest, most frost-resistant crops, a grain called *cañihua* (*Chenopodium pallidicaule*) and bitter potatoes, grow on rocky terraced land at very high altitudes. A bit lower, around 13,000 feet, barley, maize, fava and *tarwi* beans (*Lupinus mutabilis*), regular potatoes, *oca* (*Oxalis tuberosa*) and the high-protein quinoa grain (*Chenopodium*) can be grown.

Through a week-long process of alternate freezing, trampling, and drying, regular and bitter potatoes become *chuños* and *tuntas* respectively. These freeze-dried potatoes which look like dusty little grey rocks are said to last for years. Chuños simmered with quinoa, onions and a little hot pepper, *aji*, make delicious thick soups, *chupes*, eaten even for breakfast as the base of the diet for many highland families.

Farming methods in most areas have not changed in centuries. To work the land, farmers use archaic tools — the *chaqui taccla*, like a narrow shovel with a curved handle and the *lampa*, a hand hoe. Prosperous farmers own bulls (or rarely a tractor) which they rent out to the campesinos who can afford to plow their land the easy way. Crop rotation is

practiced; every few years fields become pasture for the sheep, llama and alpaca who feed on and fertilize them. Since the animals are multi-purpose, providing wool, hides, and meat, the Indians depend upon their beasts for much of their livelihood. Llamas serve also as pack animals carrying salt blocks, bags of grain and other goods. Their dung is even burned as fuel for cooking fires and stockpiled for fertilizer.

The impoverished families living in the extremely high isolated areas need to be the most self-sufficient. In most cases they subsist on chuños, quinoa and llama or alpaca jerky. They spin, weave and knit their own clothes, build their own shelters, and raise a few animals. There are no clinics, doctors or schools for children whose families live in the most remote mountainous regions.

A subsistence farmer, living on the shores of Lake Titicaca for example, is always aware of possible crop failure due to the frost and hail which imperil his crops grown in dry rocky soil. Primitive or non-existent irrigation and fertilization methods add to his precarious situation. As a measure of insurance, he has a small herd of sheep and llamas which his children care for before and after school. His wife, who helps her husband with both planting and harvesting, may sell hot drinks on the plaza in the mornings and knit sweaters for tourists by candlelight after her chores are done. She raises guinea pigs who scuttle around in the kitchen until they are roasted for a special feast.

A farmer in a warmer, more fertile valley around 10,000 feet may have surplus goods. He and his wife join the hundreds of folk who sell, barter and buy in the market, *el mercado* or *la feria*. They have access to a variety of livestock — the pigs, goats, cows and chickens which do not thrive at high altitudes, and whose products improve their family's health — and a wide choice of fruits and vegetables. The majority of the vendors are Quechua or Aymara women and *cholas*. The main market in large towns is usually held daily in a permanent building where vendors rent stalls to sell their wares. There are fresh flowers, piles of purple-and-white-striped cucumbers, green pinecone-shaped *chirimoya* fruits, baskets, plastic sandals and almost everything else imaginable. In the food sections of the Oruro and Potosí markets among others, women fry and sell crisp hot pastries called *buñuelos*. Served with glasses of *api*, a hot sweetened purple corn drink, *bunuelos* are delicious on a freezing morning.

Larger markets in towns near the tourist centers overflow with knitted and woven goods. A fraction of these are true folk art; the rest are produced for the tourist trade. Most vendors buy and re-sell crafts from a variety of local artisans. Prolific and talented knitters and weavers are able to support themselves by selling their work.

To sell anything outside the market, or in a town without a permanent market building, a vendor has only to spread out his or her wares on the ground.



1:5 Houses on the road to Macha, Bolivia. Stones hold down the thatch on the roofs.

Once a week, people crowd the streets selling hot snacks, cold drinks, powdered dyes, piles of squash and tomatoes, wooden spindles, sheepskins and flashlight batteries. The barter system persists as a way of doing business in many Andean village markets. In Leque, Bolivia, for example, local Aymara women exchange hatfuls of tiny potatoes for apples and oranges trucked in from a warmer climate. Farmers in nearby Macha trade huge sacks of potatoes with neighbors who grow fava beans, and so on. In remote highland villages, basic produce is brought in weekly; the one or two stores in town typically carry orange and cola soft drinks, fat popcorn made from the huge *choclo* (maize) kernels, packaged cookies and hardtack rolls.

Shepherds and farmers often work on road crews in the interims between planting, harvesting, and lambing. When I stayed in Macha, most of the able-bodied men in town went off in the mornings and came back in the evenings riding in the back of a new yellow dump truck belonging to the Bolivian road works department. They dressed in traditional handspun tweed jackets and *ch'ullus*, but the younger men wore jeans, and heavy boots instead of tire sandals. Besides shovels and pickaxes, many men took along a *charango*, a stringed instrument made of wood or armadillo shell, shaped like a ukelele.

Housing

Andean homes vary with altitude and economic situation. Near urban centers, houses and stores are sometimes two-story buildings of cement blocks covered with mud or plaster and painted in pastel colors. Farther into the countryside, people live in one-story houses of adobe bricks with tile or thatch

roofs. Several small square openings blocked with glass or plastic serve as windows. These homes have no running water nor electricity. Sheep and llamas sleep in rock corrals near the houses. Walls made of field stones protect and delineate crops and boundaries. In isolated areas, the campesinos build mud brick houses with thatched roofs. In extremely cold high regions, they construct rough one-room windowless thatched dwellings of rocks, mortared with mud. Rocks weight down the dry grasses used as thatch. 1:5. Ridgepoles, roof support beams and doors are hewn of eucalyptus wood which is scarce on the almost treeless altiplano.



1: A Llama decorated with tassels in its ears to assure fertility.



2:1 Highlander from Challa, Bolivia in festival dress. His ch'ullu has fanciful animals, and his jacket is machine-embroidered. He carries his white felt hat, or montera, with woven hatband and handstitched designs around the brim.

CHAPTER TWO

Andean Dress



2:2 Couple from Challa, Bolivia in festival dress. He wears a ch'ullu with the stem/leaf design. She wears a pressed felt hat (montera) with handstitched designs on brim, and several woven hatbands. Her wide, finely-woven belt is barely visible. Multicolored machine embroidery brightens their black outfits.

Regional Dress

At the time of the Spanish conquest, indigenous clothing consisted of beautiful handwoven garments and belts, but traditional dress underwent significant changes during the post-Conquest period and again during the Colonial period. In the 16th century, to emphasize the difference of classes, the Spanish forbade the natives to wear European-style clothing. Some of the restrictions also resulted from Spanish propriety. They discouraged certain 'indecent' Indian garments and banned the practice of head deformation. Then, in the late 18th century they prohibited the use of native dress and commanded the Indígenas to wear the Spanish peasant costume. (Adelson, 1983.) This edict was an attempt to diminish their sense of pride in their culture. It reflected the government's desire for an integrated society at any cost to the indigenous population. Some people in remote highland villages continued to wear their handmade ethnic clothes, but those aspiring to better their status or to join the new mestizo class consistently emulated Spanish styles. 1:3. 2:1.

As a result, indigenous dress today is composed of a mixture of Spanish and native elements. It is not

possible to distinguish indigenous people from mestizos based on their clothing. Indígenas who wear western-style clothes, speak good Spanish, and live in town may be referred to, along with the mestizos/mestizas, as *cholos* or *cholas*. When an enclave of traditional ways exists near a large town such as the outlying villages of Sucre or La Paz, Bolivia, or on Taquile Island off the shores of Puno, Peru, villagers headed for the city sometimes change from their handmade clothing to feel less conspicuous. In Puno, I met a teenager from Taquile Island, a place known for fine hand-knit caps. He wore a light blue acrylic machine-made ski cap, and explained, "people in town will laugh at me if I wear my ch'ullu."

The indigenous women have retained their ethnic dress to a greater extent than the men. More men work in situations where social pressures, practicality, or both, force them to conform and adopt modern clothes. Working on a road crew with pick-axe and shovel while wearing a flapping poncho, is not practical. For both men and women there is prestige in being able to afford commercially-made clothing.

City-dwelling Quechua and Aymara women, the



Left, 2:3 Ceramic model of bundled baby wearing Cuzco-area wool ch'ullu and wrapped in weaving with similar diamond patterning. Two-month old life sized figure made by the author. Right, 2: A Wool and alpaca coin purse, or monedero, with two side pouches; one pouch is an armless female figure with stuffed head and feet. Black and white with multicolored tassels; green crocheted hat on brown alpaca head; embroidered features; 7-loop braid handle, 3-strand braid drawstring. 12 inches high. Purchased in Cochabamba, Bolivia.

cholas, typically wear a costume consisting of a full gathered skirt called a *pollera*, a factory-made blouse and sweater, plastic or leather flats, a fringed shawl, a hand-knit purse, and a hat over their long braids. Aymara women in particular wear the dark bowler hats. Other women wear a fabulous variety of hats, with styles varying from town to town, including tall white hats made rigid with glue and starch; shallow ecru felt hats with tiny brims; boat-shaped models encrusted with sequins, rickrack and buttons, square black velvet hats — even French-inspired berets.

Bolivian women wear very fancy clothes for fiestas and special occasions. Decked out in ornately embroidered silk or rayon shawls with long macramé-knotted fringe and elegant polleras of satin brocade or crushed velvet, they dance in pastel opalescent "patent leather" flats.

A *cholo*, whether Quechua or Aymara, dresses in commercial clothing — coat, pants, shirt, hat and shoes, with quality and fit in accordance with his economic situation. If he rides somewhere in an open truck, he will most likely bring out his traditional poncho and knit ch'ullu to keep warm.

Children are dressed in clothing similar to that of their parents, often a mixture of commercial and handmade textiles. Babies are swaddled with long, woven bands during the day until they are five or six months old. 2:3. Mothers believe that their children's limbs will not grow straight unless they are swaddled. Toddlers of both sexes often wear wrap-around skirts of *bayeta*, a rough handspun sheep's wool fabric, woven by the men on treadle-looms.

In rural areas, ethnic clothing varies greatly from village to village. Most clothes and accessories are handspun and homemade; localized styles characterize certain regions. The clothing of five especially interesting places where knitted costume elements still form an important part of indigenous

dress is described below. Regional design characteristics typical of other areas are given at the end of Chapter Five.

Huancavelica, Peru

The high mountainous silver mining and farming region around Huancavelica is home of exceptionally colorful knitting. Plate 4. Knitted and crocheted accessories with complex designs in stained-glass hues add flamboyant touches to the motley combinations of factory and handmade clothes worn by the men. The men arriving in the market on horseback are dashing figures attired in splendid knit armwarmers worn over plain shirts and corduroy or cotton jackets. They wear black bayeta pants stuffed into brilliant handknit socks, or *medias*; woven or crocheted belts, and intricately patterned handknit ch'ullus. 2:4, 2:5, 2:6. Crocheted neck scarves and sequined felt hats complete a young man's outfit. A decorative fringed poncho may be rolled diagonally and slung jauntily over one shoulder. Bundles are wrapped in squares of dark woven cloths with subtle pattern stripes. Folded and tied around the waist, or tied over one shoulder and under the other arm, these attractive cloths become small backpacks. In the country, men wear *shukuy*, shoes consisting of leather soles that tie over their socks with leather strips; otherwise commercial leather or canvas shoes are worn.

When teenage boys want to look really impressive, they tie rolled bandanas around their hats and under their chins, framing their faces. Their crocheted belts and matching scarves end in springy multicolored corkscrew pompoms, which are also crocheted. 2:4, Plates 18 and 22. The belts tie in back, ends dangling with bunches of the brightly-colored spirals.

Black or brown felt hats decorated with sequins, and with the front brim folded back, cover the ch'ullus which the men knit for themselves. Bachelors and



Left to right, 2:4 Carlos Taipe Ichpas from the community of San Juan de Ccarhuacc, Peru, in knitted mangas and crocheted scarf with tassels. 2:5 Man from Huancavelica area, Peru, in mangas that he knit with the zorro, or fox motif. 2:6 Man from Yauli area, Huancavelica, sporting armwarmers. Below left, 2:7 Diminutive version of Huancavelicva women's dress worn by two-year old girl consists of a cotton blouse, wool pollera or skirt, an apron and a little felt hat.

maidens adorn these hats with a flower, *la flor de la soltería*, to indicate their availability. In some villages, "the men's jackets are worn inside out, showing the seams as a sign of bachelorhood and the implied freedom to court girls." (Castañeda Leon, 1981.)

Plush pompoms adorn the ch'ullu ties which are knotted on top of the head to hold up the reverse-knit earflaps; the pompoms hang down to the neck. 2:10. In warm weather men often flip up their earflaps, but only the men of the Huancavelica area purposely knit their earflaps with the pattern on the inside, so that when the flaps are up, the designs will not be reversed. Jumping foxes whose elongated bodies form diamonds decorate the ch'ullus and armwarmers from some communities here. 2:5, *Graph 1*. Geometric stars, crosses and diamonds pattern the knitting from nearby hamlets. *Graph 2*.



The women dress in commercial blouses and sweaters, but hand-embroidered borders embellish their best wool polleras. The hem of the skirt is cut irregularly, following the shapes of the embroidered designs — usually stylized flowers worked in darker and lighter shades of the background wool color. The lower edge of the hem is bound with outline stitch and the decorative band is bordered with

three or four horizontal tucks. These charming skirts are even worn by tiny two-year old girls. 2:7.

Shallow-crowned felt hats like the men's, or dark masculine European-style hats are worn by the women here. Women weave colorful square textiles called *llicllas* used as shoulder wraps or carrying cloths; those from this region are particularly beautiful. Wide patterned bands of geometric shapes in vivid colors alternate with bands of natural grey or black wool, emphasizing the brilliance and interplay of the colors. Designs on the *llicllas* do not closely resemble knitted ch'ullu and armwarmer designs. In addition to weaving their *llicllas*, the women knit fancy socks for their men, but wear no knitted clothes themselves.

Schoolchildren here, as in many other places, are interested in looking as "modern" as possible, favoring acrylic athletic-type apparel complete with pirated silkscreened logos.

Cuzco Region, Peru

Snow-capped Mt. Ausangate watches over the Urubamba Valley and the terra cotta tile roofs of Cuzco. Indígenas living in surrounding villages are famous for their costume, especially their hats — a different style for each highland district. The costume of a woman from the Cuzco area consists of a basic outfit — a wool or cotton pollera, a locally-made blouse often decorated with machine-embroidered designs, and a sweater — modified by distinctly regional clothing and accessories which differ according to styles in her home village. In the Urcos area near Cuzco, Quechua women enhance the basic costume with short red or black wool boleros of



Left to right: 2:8 Boy from Machaca, Cuzco region, Peru. His ch'ullu has woven straps with beaded edges decorating the earflaps. 2:9 Boy from Macha, Bolivia, wearing the classic dark cap with white patterning of the area. 2:10 Pablo Churata, age 19, from Hurincusco, Peru, shows off his elaborate fiesta headgear. His ch'ullu, with strands of beads added to tassels and earflaps is particularly fancy. Bachelors knot the beaded ties on top of their felt hats. As beads are relatively expensive, wearing lots of them implies a certain amount of status.

Spanish peasant origin. Braid and white buttons decorate the jacket fronts and cuffs. On especially fancy ones, solid areas of white buttons encrust the sleeves up to the elbows. They wear several full black skirts, each trimmed with bright woven bands, or *buyto* at the hem. Each skirt is cut shorter than the one beneath to reveal the layers of colorful trim. Women show off their wealth and status by wearing as many skirts as they can afford.

Local men make the round flat hats worn by the Ccatca-Urcos women. 2:15. They drape and sew circles of black and yellow wool over rigid bases, then fringe the edges of the unhemmed yellow underlayer. The women buy the hats in the market, and weave the ties, which they knot under the chin to secure the hat. White glass seed beads, *piñes*, are strung onto the tie weft and show at each selvedge. Ch'ullus of the region often have the woven and beaded ties as well. 2:8.

The women knit or weave coin purses or monederos, in shapes and patterns typical of each locality, and carry them tucked into their shawls or skirt bands. 2:4, 3:20-27. See pages 30-33.

Highland men who live around Cuzco wear factory-made European-style clothes, retaining only their handmade ch'ullus and ponchos as remnants of

traditional dress. However, in remote areas, hand made clothing is worn daily and it remains the indicator of ethnic affiliation. Plates 5 and 6 show an assortment of the men's exquisite knit caps.

The beguiling teenager in photo 4:1 lives near Quiquijana, south of Cuzco. He wears a commercial sweater with handspun pants, a brown bayeta vest, trimmed in colorful woven bands with diamond motifs; and tire sandals. His brimmed hat is golden brown felt with a wide woven hatband of multicolored animals and geometric shapes. In cold weather he adds a fringed poncho with narrow stripes in soft reds, pinks, browns and white, or with bands of wider diamond motifs in red, wine, and white among the stripes. He knit his bright triangle/diamond-patterned ch'ullu with large tassels on the earflaps. It is interesting to compare his outfit with the 1925 Chambí photo of a boy from Quiquijana. 1:1.

Both the ponchos and the ch'ullus of this region have designs and embellishments characteristic of the specific highland villages where they are made. Diamond shapes form the basic motif of knitted and woven textiles in the Cuzco area. 2:3, 5:4. Some ch'ullus have animal motifs such as viscachas and llamas. Plate 6. Buttons, beads, rickrack, big tassels or woven beaded ties often embellish the ch'ullus here.

Men and boys of Huara Huara and nearby communities knit fine ch'ullus with intricate designs, often including the knitter's name, village, age, and birthday, or the date he began the cap. Pablo Churata created an especially elaborate ch'ullu, adding wide beaded ties as well as the rows of white buttons and tracery of white beads. 2:10.

Taquile Island

Enormous Lake Titicaca lies on the Peru-Bolivia border 350 kilometers south of Cuzco, on the tourist route to La Paz. Taquile and Amantani Islands, on the Peruvian side of the lake, are home to Quechua people



2:11 Mother and baby boy, Paucartambo, Peru. She sells handwoven belts in the Cuzco market.



Left to right, 2:12 Pablo's friend, Manuel Tito, 37, Hurincusco, Peru, wears a European-style felt hat over his ch'ullu. A tracery of couched white beads outlines the diamond pattern typical of caps from his area. He also wears a button-decorated bayeta vest. 2:13 Nicolas Condori, llama herder from Challapata, Oruro Department, Bolivia with decorative chullo under his felt hat. 2:14 Braulio Mamani, 33, from the Yahuacari community in northern Potosí Department, Bolivia. He models the finely-knit black, white, pink and green cap that he made. See Plate II, cap. 4.

who maintain highly organized communities based on self-sufficiency and cooperative spirit. Many men and women are able to support themselves by selling knitted and woven goods to the travellers through artisans' cooperatives.

Assimilation relates directly to the amount of contact with outsiders. Taquile Island was not visited by tourists until fairly recently. It stands out, however, as an exceptional example of a community where the people have frequent contact with foreigners, yet continue to wear their ethnic clothing daily, both in spite of and because of the tourists.

The island women wear several red, wine or black polleras with plain white wool blouses, or white

cotton ones with flowery machine embroidery, black boleros, black headcloths called *choco* (Sp.) or *chucu* (Q.) and tire sandals. For fiestas, they put on all their polleras at once and add a flat black four-cornered hat on top of their headcloths. Flowers embroidered in multicolored yarns decorate the edges of the black hats. Their black wool jackets with colorful couched yarn borders are similar to those worn on the nearby Capachica peninsula.

The little girls favor brilliant complementary blouse-and-skirt combinations like saffron yellow and deep purple or hot orange and royal blue. The Taquile schoolyard is a kaleidoscopic jumble of color — these lucky children do not wear the standard grey Peruvian

2:15 Mother and baby boy from Ccatca in the Urcos region near Cuzco, Peru. Baby wears a fine example of an old-style Ccatca ch'ullu.





2:16 Men from Taquile Island wearing ch'ullus indicating their marital status: at left pintay chullo, (married man) at right: chullo soltero (bachelor).

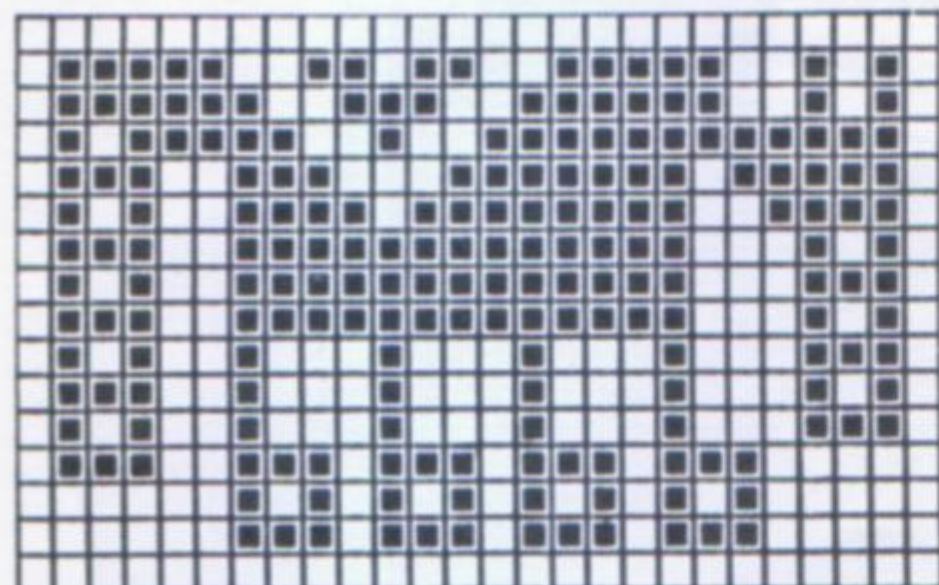
school uniforms. Young boys look like miniature versions of their handsome fathers in black bayeta pants and vests, square-cut clean white shirts, and tire sandals. Boys put on white-topped ch'ullus for celebrations. The men wear their ch'ullus all the time, adding wide red belts and black or crimson wool vests.

Traditionally the caps Taquile men knit for themselves indicate their marital status. Bachelors announce their availability with a *chullo soltero* (Sp.) or *chata ch'ullu* (Q.), a long cap with a wide red band of intricate designs and a pure white top ending in a scarlet tassel, or *ticacha*. 2:16, 5:23. Detail, Plate 42. A *pintay chullo* (Sp.) or solid red cap striped with rows of tiny motifs, says that the wearer is already taken — although I've met married islanders who still wear their bachelor caps. For the wedding day, a *pintay chullo* is always worn. 5:23, Plate 35.

Ch'ullus called *phalaccachi* (Q.), or Inca chullo (Sp.), with wide ruffles in front protect babies from the harsh Andean sunlight. These sunbonnets are knit by fathers on Taquile and by either parent on nearby Amantani Island. 5:22. See Back Cover. Girls continue to wear the red caps with ecru ruffles on special occasions until they are five to eight years old, when they begin to wear the black choco.

Potolo, Bolivia

Wild, uninhabited terrain, with rocky summits and deep canyons where green parakeets glide, separates



2:17 Man from Ravelo, Bolivia, with chullo under his felt hat. He wears the traditional men's garb of the region.

the Potolo Valley from Sucre, the official capital of Bolivia. Regular transportation along the arduous route to Potolo is non-existent. Transport trucks make the trip in the dry season but travel is surest in four-wheel drive vehicles capable of fording rivers and climbing sandstone grades. Potoleños hike over steep trails bypassing the road, to arrive at the crossroad 25 kilometers away, to catch a truck or bus headed for the capital.

The isolation of the village, high on a plateau backed by jagged peaks, has ensured continuity of indigenous costume styles and textile motifs. Textiles from communities in the Macha to Ravelo region share similar design influences. Nowhere else are the same distinctive motifs and colors combined, making knit or woven items from this area immediately recognizable.

A woman of Potolo wears a mid-calf length black bayeta dress called an *almillia*. Over the dress, she wraps a large handwoven skirt-like rectangle, an *aksu*, which she holds up with a woven belt. Her superbly-woven aksu typically has a wide band of cavorting birds and animals along one side. There are also 'half-aksus,' covering only the backside of the wearer. As bayeta is scratchy, a young woman may wear a commercial turtleneck underneath her dress. Tire sandals and a white felt hat with a shallow crown and narrow brim complete her outfit. She carries her market produce or her baby in a square handwoven cloth called an *awayo*. Men and women in the area



2:18 Gomercindo, 8, and Anastasio, 12, two young sons of Santos Lopez Condori, Chipaya, Bolivia, wearing ch'ullus knit by their father. It takes Santos five days to make a hat for himself or for one of his sons. Patterned bands of red and blue decorate the white cap. Earflaps have v-shaped patterning. 2:19 Girls from Chipaya, Bolivia in typical costume and braided hair style.

wear the same type of felted white sheep's wool hat, often adorning them with very narrow finely-woven hatbands which have a white ground and multicolored flowers or birds. 2:17. Fresh flowers stuck in the hatbands often decorate the hats.

Under his felt hat, a Potoleño wears a ch'ullu he has knit for himself. A dark background and bands of flower motifs in wine and white typify the traditional style. *Plate II, Cap 3*. Some young men now incorporate brighter colors such as green and hot pink, while retaining the old motifs. Ch'ullus from this region exemplify some of the finest knitting in Bolivia. *Plate II* shows examples of traditional and modern versions.

In addition to his headgear, the Potoleño wears a white handwoven wool shirt with black bands around the upper sleeves, and plain white bayeta pants with a machine-embroidered decorative border about 1/2 inch wide at the bottom edges. He also wears matching overpants which reach the top of his thighs and are held up with a cord tied around his haunches. 2:17. In cold weather, he dons a black poncho with rusty red and brown stripes on each side of the neck, and geometric patterned bands at the far edges.

Chipaya, Bolivia

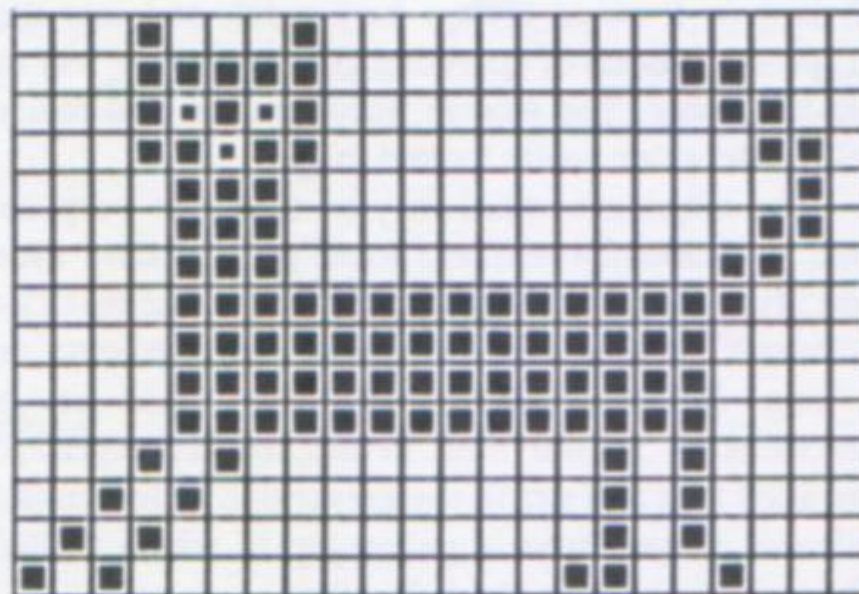
The Chipaya live on the barren altiplano in the Bolivian province of Oruro. Little-influenced by the outside world, they continue to wear untailored clothing that is handspun and handwoven. The men and boys wear wool tunics called *iras*, identical to the pre-Hispanic *unkus*. Cut like a poncho but with the sides sewn up to the armholes, iras are fastened at the waist with a woven belt. Narrow brown and white stripes distinguish the Chipayan version of this ancient garment. Black handspun wool pants are worn by both the men and boys here.

The unusual shape and invariable colors of Chipayan ch'ullus that the men knit for themselves and their young sons are distinctive. 2:18. A simple pattern stripe of red and blue decorates the white cap.

The ch'ullus perch on top of the head, held on by large earflaps, which tie under the chin and actually form the sides of the cap. These caps are worn by all Chipayan men in the Escara area; sometimes they also wear an ecru wool felt hat.

The beautiful little girls have their long black hair braided into hundreds of tresses. They wear loose white bayeta dresses with wide three-quarter length sleeves with a dark blue band and cuff below the elbow. Over their dresses, they wear black mantles and wrap-skirts, handwoven wool rectangles of pre-Hispanic tradition. 2:19. The mantles (*ahuayos* or *awayos*), are brought under one arm, up to the shoulders in front and back, folded over and pinned at the neck with large safety pins randomly attached to the front of their mantles like brooches. The skirts, aksus, are held in place by long woven belts wrapped several times around the waist. While most mantles and skirts are solid black with narrow white stripes at the edges, a few have subtle stripes where coarsely and finely spun wool of the same color have been woven together in an allover textured pattern.

All the women dress in the same manner. Only older women and school-age girls retain the traditional hair style with numerous braidlets; the young women now wear two long braids. Metal clip barettes are a popular hair adornment. Plastic flats in pastel colors are worn for festive occasions; for everyday use they wear tire sandals or no shoes at all.



Festivals and Festival Attire

Pagan rituals and beliefs persist in many parts of the Andean highlands. "The tenets of Christianity imposed upon the Indians by the Spanish produced few changes in their social and cultural values...carrying symbols of their old gods, they are respectful, but skeptical, of Christianity." (Strycker-Post, 1983). Nature is worshipped. Sacred places or things, *huacas*, such as lakes, rocks, lightning, the sun, the moon, certain stars, and the awesome Andean peaks, all inspire reverence. For the Andean people, *Pacha Mama* or Mother Earth is all-important, the mother of all things. Offerings are made to her, sometimes buried in her. At the annual fertility celebration on the Island of the Sun in Lake Titicaca, Aymara Indians sacrifice a white llama as in ancient times, sprinkling its blood on the soil while imploring *Pacha Mama* to give them a bountiful harvest. (L. McIntyre, 1973.) The Chipaya sacrifice a llama, a sheep and a pig as they ask *Pacha Mama* and other deities for water, good crops, and healthy herds. The animals' blood is poured on tall whitewashed sod cones which represent sacred spirits, *mallku*. At shearing time, the Chipaya make libations on the wool, offering *chicha* (fermented quinoa or corn drink) and coca leaves to small clay images of sheep and llamas. (LaBarre, 1963.)

Town markets contain stalls where vendors sell offerings, magic potions, folk medicine and witchcraft, in the form of dried bird's wings, seed pods, aromatic herbs, sea shells and starfish, pastel bonbons, magnets, dried llama and pig fetuses, and more. In LaPaz, I bought a special good luck packet of the sort traditionally buried under the doorstep of a house under construction as an offering to *Pacha Mama*. The wizened vendor told me that since my house was old, I could either burn the offering or bury it in my garden. She carefully selected a small leathery brown llama fetus, explaining that the larger ones with fur are for office buildings and sky-scrappers. Placing it on a square of paper, she added sage-scented herbs, little pastel blue, yellow and purple plaques molded with symbolic images, bright pink candies so that all would be sweet in my household, and a pinch of tiny silver charms. She then wrapped the bundle with strands of colored yarn. Finally, she smeared the fetus with lard so I would always have meat, and into the lard, pressed sheets of sparkling gold and silver leaf to bring me riches. The strange, incongruous, and rather smelly concoction really looked magic!

The offering bundles vary according to purpose. In the Cochabamba market, some packets have little dried fish and animal crackers in them. The "witchcraft" vendors often dispense folk medicine on the side. In Huancavelica, Peru, I looked on in amazement as an old man in the market explained what ailed him and drank the prescribed little glassful of alcohol poured from a gallon jug in which floated herbs and a large grey pickled snake.

To come up with a satisfactory religion, the people have combined ancient pagan beliefs, such as shamanism and agricultural rites with somber Roman Catholic morality. *Inti Tana*, Father Sun, is associated with God and Christ; *Pacha Mama* is identified with the Virgin Mary; and Saint James is seen as *Illapa*, god of thunder and lightning. Many ceremonies honor *Mama Quilla*, or Mother Moon, and the rainbow, *Quichi*.

This mixture of beliefs has resulted in a great diversity of religious activities, including holidays in recognition of planting dates, harvest thanksgivings, solstices, saints' birthdays and feast days. Celebrating all these events requires an amazing number of festivals and provides periodic opportunities for socialization and merrymaking during the otherwise harsh Andean life.

Some Catholic holidays coincide with the dates of ancient Incan rites and the joint celebrations which ensue combine and confuse features of each. *Inti Raymi*, the Incan Winter Solstice or Sun Festival held late in June (seasons are reversed south of the Equator) and the feast day of Saint John take place at the same time, celebrated all over Peru, especially in Cuzco, with fiestas and dancing in traditional costumes.

Corpus Christi falls in mid-June when threshing begins, so in some places the holiday also celebrates the harvest. In the Andean Vilcanota Range east of Cuzco, a pilgrimage called *Qoyllur Riti*, Star of the Snow, held at the same time, draws worshippers from villages all over the province. Although *Qoyllur Riti* commemorates a Christian legend, some anthropologists believe its roots to be pre-Hispanic. Some of the dancers put feathered *chuncho*, or jungle Indian costumes over their usual short jackets decorated with rows of buttons and braid. They wear their button-and-bead embellished *ch'ullus* in the procession. Other participants, the *ukukkus*, wear knitted face masks and fringed costumes representing a mythical part-man, part-bear, 2:20, Plate 20. See Page 34. While *Inti Raymi* has become a tourist spectacle, *Qoyllur Riti* remains a sacred pilgrimage. From the valley, the men climb a 16,000-foot glacier to light candles and pray. Then, still wearing their masks, they cut large chunks of ice and pack it down to the villagers waiting at the sanctuary. They melt the ice and drink the water for the magical healing powers of the sacred site. (Randall, 1982.) In Cuzco, dancers at the springtime Festival of the Cross also wear the colorful masks.

Fiestas are held to celebrate the feast days of many different saints. For instance, *San Isidro* is the patron saint of agriculture. His fiesta in early May includes dancing and rituals to ensure plentiful crops. For the festivities, men in the Cuzco area wear knitted masks and blow a large shell trumpet, *pututu* (*Strombus galeatus*), an instrument used in Peru for over three thousand years. The *pututu* is also played during the Sunday mass at Pisac by men who wear their best *ch'ullus*.

For fiestas like *San Sebastian*, in early August, and Pentecost in September, the Taquile Islanders wear their best traditional clothes. Interesting rituals precede the festivities on Taquile. The men have a ceremony in front of the church where they share coca leaves, alcohol, and pink candies. Then they mix a whitewash solution, which they daub and splash first on the church and belltower, and then on all the adobe shops, houses, and walls around the plaza. They carefully turn their ch'ullus inside-out before the paint splashing begins. Ch'ullus serve as containers for the coca leaves; as the elders dole them out, the painters stash them in their caps. Taquile Island festivities also include dancing around a 'maypole' to monotonous drum and flute music, the men wearing headdresses of long rainbow-colored streamers and bright feathers. A traditional red-and-white ch'ullu, or a type of generic rainbow ch'ullu from Puno is worn under the headdress. Other dance groups wear decorated white felt hats over their ch'ullus.

Bolivian festivals are more flamboyant than Peruvian celebrations. The week-long *Carnaval* in Bolivia combines Ash Wednesday with noisy brass bands, clowns, the devil dancers, *Diabladas*, and numerous other dance groups in fabulously ornate costumes and sensational dance masks. It is not at all unusual to see a parade of drunken celebrants staggering under the weight of a garish statue of the Virgin, followed by wildly-attired bears and dancing devils. The Assumption fiestas during the week of August 15th in altiplano mining towns, and the important *Gran Poder* parade held in La Paz during the first week of June, celebrate Catholic holidays with riotous music and dancing. Both parades include groups wearing ch'ullus and traditional clothes, playing flute-like *quenas* and *zampoñas*, panpipes, while dancing. Costumed university students may participate in the folk dancing.

Festival Knitted Accessories

Some special knitted costume is worn only during certain festivities, such as in Tarabuco, Bolivia, where patterned leggings, *polainas* or *sobres* (Sp.), and *pujllaypa* (Q.), adorn the men who dance at the fiesta of Pujllay, celebrating an Indian victory over the Spanish during Bolivia's War of Independence. (L. Meisch, correspondence, 1986.) 2:22, 2:B. Leggings called *winchucas*, *sikas* or *tejidos hongos* are worn by the men of Pocoata for the fiesta dancing at the May Third, *Dia de la Santa Cruz*, or Day of the Holy Cross celebration.

All types of special occasions provide opportunities for people to show off their finest clothes. When community leaders meet for decision-making, their costume indicates their social position and regional identity. In the Huancavelica area of Peru, village leaders don their best armwarmers and ch'ullus; around their necks they hang thick braided leather lariats to show their importance. A village



2:B A musician plays his *erque*, or vertical flute during the Pujllay Festival in Tarabuco, Bolivia. The knitted leggings and thick-soled sandals decorated with "spurs" are traditional fiesta gear.



2:20 Masked participant in the Q'ollur Riiti, or Snow Star Pilgrimage near Cuzco, Peru. Photo by Loren McIntyre.

headman, or *alcalde* of a community near Cuzco typically tops his knitted *ch'ullu* with a saucer-shaped felt *montera*, wears a special ceremonial poncho with knee-length black bayeta pants, and carries a long wooden staff, *vara*, decorated with silver repoussé bands.

For small local fairs and festivals, revelers in traditional dress converge from miles around to join in the ritual drinking and nonstop dancing to deafening brass bands. A bit of alcohol splashed on the ground as an offering to Pacha Mama always precedes the drinking. Market days, livestock fairs, or *ferias de ganados*, family celebrations such as a child's first haircut, birthdays, funerals, and Sunday masses all



2:22 Fiesta revelers, Challa, Bolivia.



2:21 Festival dance mask, Ayachucho, Peru. Knit face mask with crocheted neck and breastplate. Collection of Mary Walker Phillips.

provide occasions for wearing ethnic clothes, in styles and patterns characteristic of the people's home villages. *Plates 19, 21.*

The fact that knitted masks, armwarmers, leggings and *ch'ullus* have endured as part of the indigenous costume for multitudes of important native ceremonies shows that traditional garments still play a significant role in the spiritual and social fabric of Andean life.

Symbolic Knitted Items

In addition to the knit costume accessories worn during religious festivities, special knitted items are used in certain ceremonies and symbolic rites. Knit purses covered with old coins adorn the male folk dancers called *Doctorcitos* who parody the famous *callahuayas* or curers of northern Bolivia at fiestas. (L. Meisch, 1977.) *Plate 9.* For Quechua people in the Potosí area, a knitted Pacha Mama doll/charm bag plays an important role in the *challa*, or ritual offering of alcohol to Mother Earth, performed on the first of August for the Holy Spirit celebration. The doll, which holds magic charms, is festooned with streamers and confetti. A *challa* connected with good fortune and prosperity takes place, using *singani*, a Bolivian grape liquor. The *challa* is usually done standing up, tossing alcohol from a glass in a full circle to the spirits. The bag shown in 2:23 and *Plate 32* is a treasured object in the family of Ulises



Left, 2:23 Pachamama bag, Potosí, Bolivia. Used for good luck in special ceremonies. See Plate 32. Above, 2:24 Festival leggings, or polainas de lana, worn for Pujallay fiesta dancing, Bolivia. Collection of the Museo de Antropologico, Tarabuco, Sucre, Bolivia.

Murguía Bellido, Potosí, Bolivia, who states that it holds family symbols for good fortune and luck. Among the charms placed inside are various roots and herbs, coca leaves, a dried starfish leg, and a craggy brown nut. A little sealed good-luck bottle contains a magnet, some minute white seashells, a bit of ribbon striped in yellow, green and red like the Bolivian flag, and other miniature fetishes which are preserved in liquid. An owl's feather wards off curses, and curly yellow seedpods, or *curucurus*, protect the family from witchcraft.

The gain of a major possession such as a new house, car, or animal always prompts a *challa* of blessing and gratitude. With much drinking and confetti-tossing, flower-bedecked vehicles and livestock are blessed at the church by the local priest — a concept similar to our custom of breaking a bottle of spirits over a new ship.

Another traditional charm is Ekkekko, the pre-Hispanic god of good luck, love and abundance, represented today by little plaster statues wearing tiny hand-knit *ch'ullus*. 2:C. Indígenas looking for a spouse enlist the help of Ekkekko by making offerings to him. People purchase miniature replicas of desired possessions at *alacitas*, or fairs and other fiestas throughout Bolivia in the belief that the real objects will then be obtained in the coming year.



2:C Right, Ekkekko, traditional good luck charm, wears a tiny *ch'ullu*. The purchased statues carry armloads of rubber sandals, mattresses, baskets, sacks of food, and paper money. Miniature objects to buy and add to Ekkekko include sewing machines, wheelbarrows, televisions, even little cruise ships and diesel trucks for the truly ambitious!



3:1 Antique hat from Potosí Department, Bolivia, in tan, rose and orange dyed alpaca. Also shown in Plate 10.

The Craft of Andean Knitting

Pre-Hispanic Knitting-Related Techniques

Because most ancient highland textiles have deteriorated due to centuries in the Andean mountain environment, only garments and fabrics from tombs along the arid Pacific coast remain. Preserved by dry winds and desert sands, funeral bundles from pre-Hispanic gravesites have yielded exquisite textiles and objects which have proved invaluable to archeologists, ethnologists and others seeking to understand early South American cultures.

The ancient Peruvian custom of burying the dead with the implements of their art or craft helps to reconstruct their mode of life. Weavers dressed in their best clothes are buried with their looms and workbaskets containing spindles, bobbins, skeins and balls of cotton and wool, feathers, "weave daggers," "warp weights," wooden and bone needles. (Levillier, 1928.) Often more than one hundred textiles, made and decorated especially for the burial ritual, enveloped a mummified body. Exquisite woven, painted and embroidered treasures, as well as some superb specimens of knotted and looped textiles may be found in a single mummy bundle. 3:A, 3:D, 3:E.

Knotting and cross-knit looping are two single-element fabric structures related to knitting techniques, and considered antecedents to modern knitting. The lack of knitting needles and knitted cloth in the tombs indicates that knitting as we know it did not exist in Peru and Bolivia before European contact. Nor has anything resembling a crochet hook been discovered in the ancient gravesites.

Pre-Hispanic fiber artists spun and dyed cotton and/or camelid hair, usually alpaca, for most textiles. Dyes came from the cochineal insect, the bark of the false pepper tree (*Chinus mollis*) and indigo, plus other substances not known to us. (d'Harcourt, 1934, 1962.) For fine looping and knotting projects, they used alpaca spun thread-thin, and single needles with eyes, much like sewing needles but made of *guaranga*, or cactus spines. Fish bones or needles made of copper, gold or silver were used for coarse work.

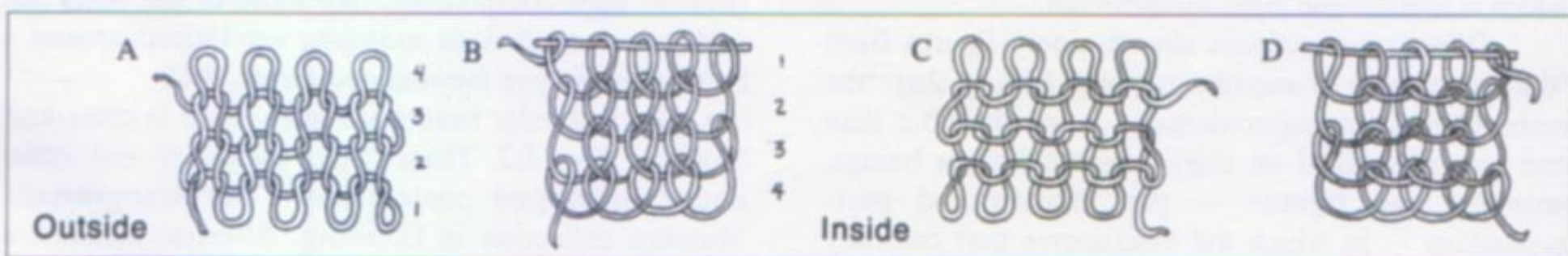
Cross-knit looping and knotting, like knitting and crocheting, are single-element techniques. One strand of yarn loops around itself to create a fabric or edging, as opposed to the inter-lacing of threads in woven textiles. Cross-knit looping produces a surface texture closely resembling knitting, but with a crossed stitch. It mimics knitting so well that Jean Levillier, who studied the three-dimensional Paracas figures called it "knitting in stocking stitch." (Levillier, 1928.) 3:A. In her detailed analysis of the figures, Lila O'Neale (1934) called it "needle-knitting." Realizing that the term was

misleading, Raoul d'Harcourt (1962) described it as "network embroidery with loop stitch." Scandinavians know the technique as *nålbinding*.

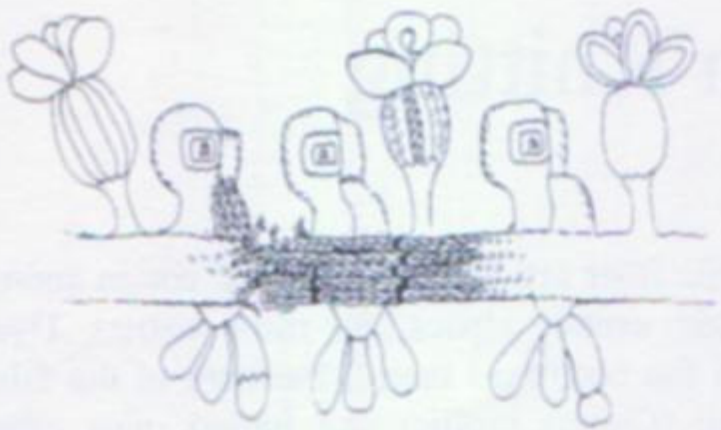
Cross-knit looping differs from knitting in that a blunt sewing needle is threaded with the yarn and carries it through the turns and loops, as in embroidery. 3:B. To begin cross-knit looping a series of loops is wound around a holding cord, or base stitches are sewn into a fabric. Rows of stitches are built up from the base.



3:A One of the intricate cross-knit looped alpaca figures bordering the Paracas ceremonial mantle, 400-100 BC., Brooklyn Museum collection. Actual size: 8 cm. high.



3:B Diagram comparing front and back surfaces of knitting (A, C,) with front and back surfaces of cross-knit looping (B, D).

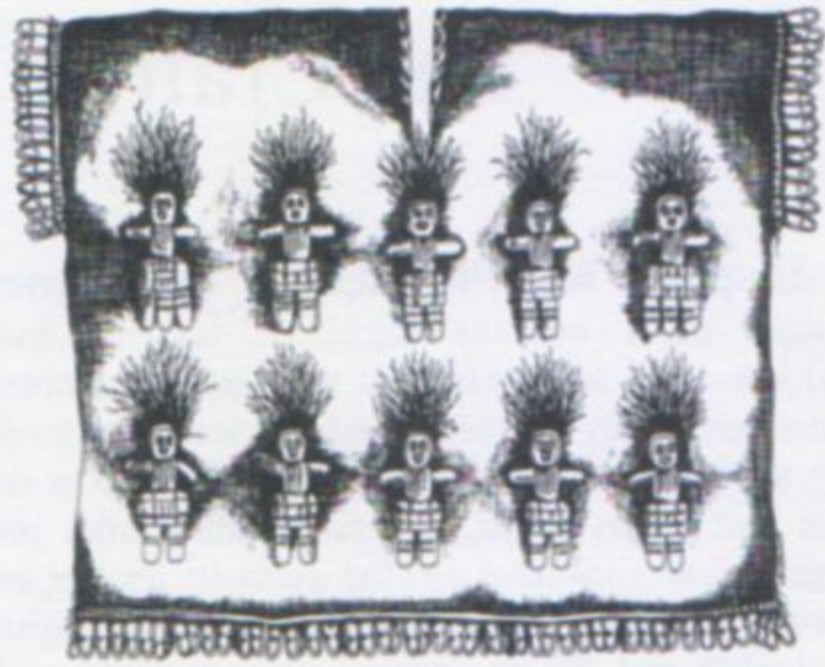


3:C Detail, Paracas Necropolis figures showing cross-knit looping. 6 cm. high, 300 BC-300 AD. Collection of Lowie Museum of Anthropology, Berkeley, California.

Examples of cross-knit looping of Peruvian coastal cultures have been discovered from all archeological periods. The technique was perfected during the Paracas Necropolis period (400 BC-100 BC) when rows of tiny three-dimensional looped figures decorated mantles and turbans. The most famous example is a large ceremonial mantle called the "Paracas textile" after the Peruvian peninsula where it was found, named in turn for the incessant coastal winds, the *paracas*. The masterpiece, unearthed in 1925 from a chief or priest's tomb in the Valley of Pisco, was first described by Jean Levillier in 1928. It measures 167 cm. by 64 cm. and consists of a central woven portion originally bordered by a fringe of ninety figures, 5 to 7 cm. high. A few have deteriorated but those remaining show the incredible attention to detail. 3:A. Miniature personages carry identifiable plants, weapons, trophy heads, ceremonial batons and other accessories. They are richly attired, wearing headbands, face and leg ornaments, shirts and mantles. Llamas, jaguars and snakes accompany some figures.

Product of "the expenditure of infinite time and infinite patience," the basic form of each piece was first made of *cabuya* fiber for stiffness (Levillier, 1928) or of a network of cotton or wool, in simple looping or in buttonhole stitch. (O'Neale, 1934.) This core was then covered with polychrome alpaca in cross-knit looping. Each separate component such as a head or a leaf was made by stitching loops into the existing work, much as one would pick up stitches to begin a new section of a knit or crocheted piece, and then continuing the looping process in a new direction. The stitches were "bound off" at the termination of each element. Striped or multicolored areas required two needles, each carrying a different color. The unused color was carried inside the work which is tubular and three-dimensional.

D'Harcourt analyzes almost ninety figures from "the astonishing frieze-like border," adding that "the embroideress [or embroideresses — surely more than one person worked on this] depicted human beings, animals, and figures — part human and part-nonhuman — in which the imaginative part certainly greatly prevails over the realistic part. The animal and vegetal kingdoms are intimately intermingled,



3:D Chancay-style child's unku or shirt, 1200-1450 AD, of indigo-dyed cotton with appliqued figures and looped edging worked in alpaca. Figures are rusty red, gold, ecru, grey blue, soft green, brown and black. Loose strands of dark brown alpaca yarn make the hair. Collection of Museo Miguel Mujica Gallo, Lima, Peru.

giving convincing proof of the pantheistic concept of the Paracas Indian." The Paracas mantle is exceptional, not only for its accurate representations but also for the gauge employed — between thirty-five and forty stitches to the inch, or the same as in a commercial knit T-shirt. The Paracas mantle is in the collection of New York's Brooklyn Museum. 3:A.

Other specimens of cross-knit looping have been found in nearby Nazca gravesites. Among them are strings of parrots and hummingbirds interspersed with two-centimeter high striped cacti, each topped with a four-petaled flower, in glowing colors after 2000 years! 3:C. Like the Paracas figures, the little bird and flower fringes are made from finely-spun alpaca, dyed in soft tones of every hue imaginable. A bit of unspun fiber forms the core for these figures. The parrots are worked in combinations of brown, gold, rust and teal. Between the birds, flowers of purple and sage green bloom on grey-blue and red striped cacti. American archeologist Junius Bird has called them "multicolored elaborate figures in the round which must be seen to be believed." (Bennett and Bird, 1954.)

Exemplary looped work brightens a child's cotton tunic from the Chancay period (1200-1450 AD). The tunic has tab-like scalloped edging and alpaca figures like little rag dolls with wild hair. These "dolls" were probably associated with magic and not meant solely for the child's amusement. (Doig, correspondence, 1987.) The figures appear stuffed because their components, like those of the birds and cactus in the previous example, are looped around a bit of fiber to give the rounded forms. 3:D.

Long tubular headbands were made in cross-knit looping. See 3:2. These were patterned and often ended in looped projections. The Etnografiska Museum collection in Göteborg, Sweden, contains a fabulous piece of lacy openwork fabric made entirely of cross-knit looped shapes. The technique was also



3:E Four-pointed knotted pile cap from Huari culture, 800-1000 AD. Collection of Amano Museum, Lima, Peru.

used to make various ornaments and small fabrics and to join and bind seams on woven textiles. Even today, cross-knit looping forms seam bindings and decorative borders on coca bags and other woven pieces from some Andean villages.

Ancient Peruvians employed various knotting techniques in skillful and intricate applications. One technique involved knotting alpaca yarns in polychrome patterns into a cotton backing composed of square-knots or half-hitches. A tufted plush texture resulted, not unlike a miniature rug. This cut pile or *simili-velours* technique was also used for hats and headbands. Square caps with four upright points were made of separately-knotted sections which were joined together by fine stitches. 3:E.

From the extent and quality of the prehispanic woven, looped and knotted work, it is evident that the Spanish and Portuguese settlers introduced knitting to a people who were already excellent spinners and textile artists, familiar with exacting fiber techniques and manipulations, whose cultural tradition was based on textiles. It is natural that they would excel at knitting and produce some of the finest in the world.

Ancient Andean Headgear

Archeological evidence, including pottery designs and stone carvings as well as textiles, indicates that different styles of headgear or coiffures distinguished each of the ancient cultures. Besides providing protection from the desert sun on the coast and the frigid climate of the highlands, distinctive headgear showed ethnic affiliation and social rank.

Incised stones from as early as 1000 BC depict trapezoidal caps worn by dignitaries of the Cerro Sechin culture from the northern coast of Peru. Woven or cross-knit looped bands in assorted styles formed the turbans and headbands of the Paracas-Necropolis population who occupied an area near the modern town of Pisco, Peru, from 400 BC to 100 BC. Tiny three-dimensional looped figures or finger-like projections sometimes decorated the turbans. 3:2.



Left, 3:F Figure from sculpted mud frieze at Huaca el Dragón near ChanChan, Peru, 1400 AD, depicting a dancer in conical cap holding a rattle. Right, 3:G Incan ceramic jar in the form of a man wearing conical headgear with side flaps, ca. 1475 AD. Collection of Museum Für Völkerkunde, West Berlin, Germany.

Pottery vessels from the later Mochica culture (100-800 AD) picture warriors with a variety of bizarre helmets plus decorated pointed caps shaped like the *ch'ullu* used today. 3:H. Sculpted ceramic heads topped with patterned headdresses and chinstraps characterize the realistic Mochica portrait pots.

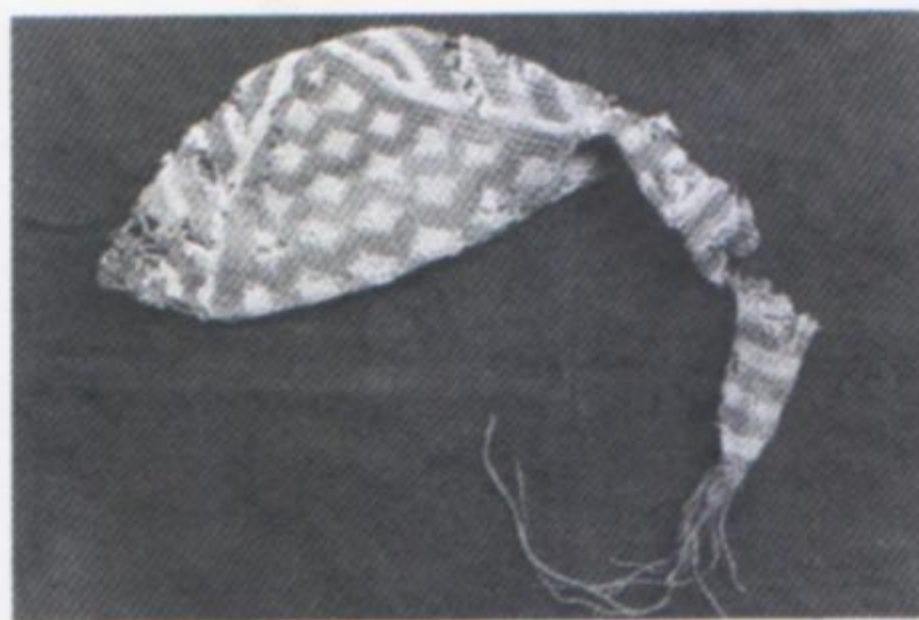
Square half-hitch knotted caps were worn by the Huari-Tiahuanaco men who lived in the central highlands of Peru from 800-1200 AD. 3:E. During this same period, four-pointed caps identified the Maitas-Chiribaya people in southern Peru and northern Chile. (Ulloa, 1981.) People of the Ica-Chincha culture on the southern coast of Peru wore woolen looped caps with long, wide ties (900-1500 AD). (LaValle, 1980.) Caps covered the short hair of men at the Chimu capital of ChanChan (1200 AD) near the town of Trujillo, Peru. In the same area, sculpted mud friezes at Huaca El Dragón (1400 AD) show dancers celebrating the festival of the rainbow, wearing conical caps and holding rattles with copper bells. 3:F. A pre-Hispanic knotted alpaca wig-like cap is shown in Plate 13.

In the late 1400s, as the Incas conquered more tribes north and south of their territory, they found distinctive regional headgear so prevalent that its continued use was forced by decree as a convenient method of identifying the diverse peoples of the realm. A common Inca headdress was the *llauto* (Sp) or *llautu* (Q.), a woven or braided band wrapped several times around the head. 3:2. Feathers and fringe decorated the *llauto* donned by the Inca Emperor. For formal appearances, the monarch wore a sort of helmet, *casca* (Sp.), also called a *chucu* (Sp) or *ch'ucu* (Q.). The *chucu* also differentiated groups of commoners by district. (Doig, 1983.) 3:H.

In 1553, after the Inca reign was terminated by Spanish domination, chronicler Pedro de Cieza de



3:2 Tubular headdress or Llauto in cross-knit looping, found in a mummy bundle on the Paracas-peninsula, 500-300 BC. 27 feet long (8.5m). Designs are double-headed birds in yellow, green and blue on a red field. Yellow macaw feather trim. Collection of the Brooklyn Museum, New York.



3:3 Wool cap in rust with ecru patterning, worn by Uru men from north of La Paz, Bolivia. Collection of Museo Nacional de Ethnografia y Folklore, La Paz. Cap may be 200-250 years old, according to director, Dr. Hugo Ruiz. It appears to be made in cross-knit looping. The point hangs down from one edge at the back instead of from the top.

Leon related the continuing importance of headgear in defining ethnic identity. In the Inca capital of Cuzco, he relates, "if there were a hundred thousand men [from provinces all over the Empire], they could easily be recognized by the insignia they wore about their heads."

Cieza described Aymara Indian customs, recording that "on their heads [which are shaped and bound from birth], they wear a bonnet shaped like a mortar, made of wool, which they call a chullo." This is the earliest mention of the word *chullo*, which is an Hispanicized version of the *ch'ullu*. Early *ch'ullu*s had earflaps and most other peoples eventually adopted this logical extension against the chill Andean winds. Cieza also describes the Canas from the province south of Cuzco — "they and their women wear a kind of woolen cap, large, round, and high". (Cieza, 1554.) All of these early varieties of headgear were either woven, knotted, braided or looped, never knitted, but they influenced the design of the *ch'ullu*. 3:3.

Post-Conquest Andean Knitting

We can presume that Spanish and Portuguese explorers introduced the technique of knitting when they landed in South America in the mid-1500s. The

tradition of the male knitter was well-established in the knitting guilds of medieval Europe. Iberian sailors headed to the "Indies" probably knit to replace worn-out socks and caps on the long sea voyages.

The earliest record of hand-knitted items brought to the New World was written by a chronicler named Arzans in the late 1600s. He tells of the richness and variety of goods brought by "an infinite number of ships [and llama pack trains over the Andes] to the Imperial City of Potosí, Bolivia, a huge silver-mining boomtown: 'There were silks of all sorts and knitted goods from Granada; stockings and swords from Toledo;...rich linen and knitted goods from Portugal...'" (Hanke, 1956).

Eventually, some Spanish and Portuguese women arrived in South America. They knit gloves and coin purses of the finely-spun, soft and exotic camelid fibers, and their interest certainly helped to spread the craft. They may have introduced knitting with beads and lace knitting, which were fashionable in Europe at the time. 3:1, 6:4, 6:10; Plate 8.

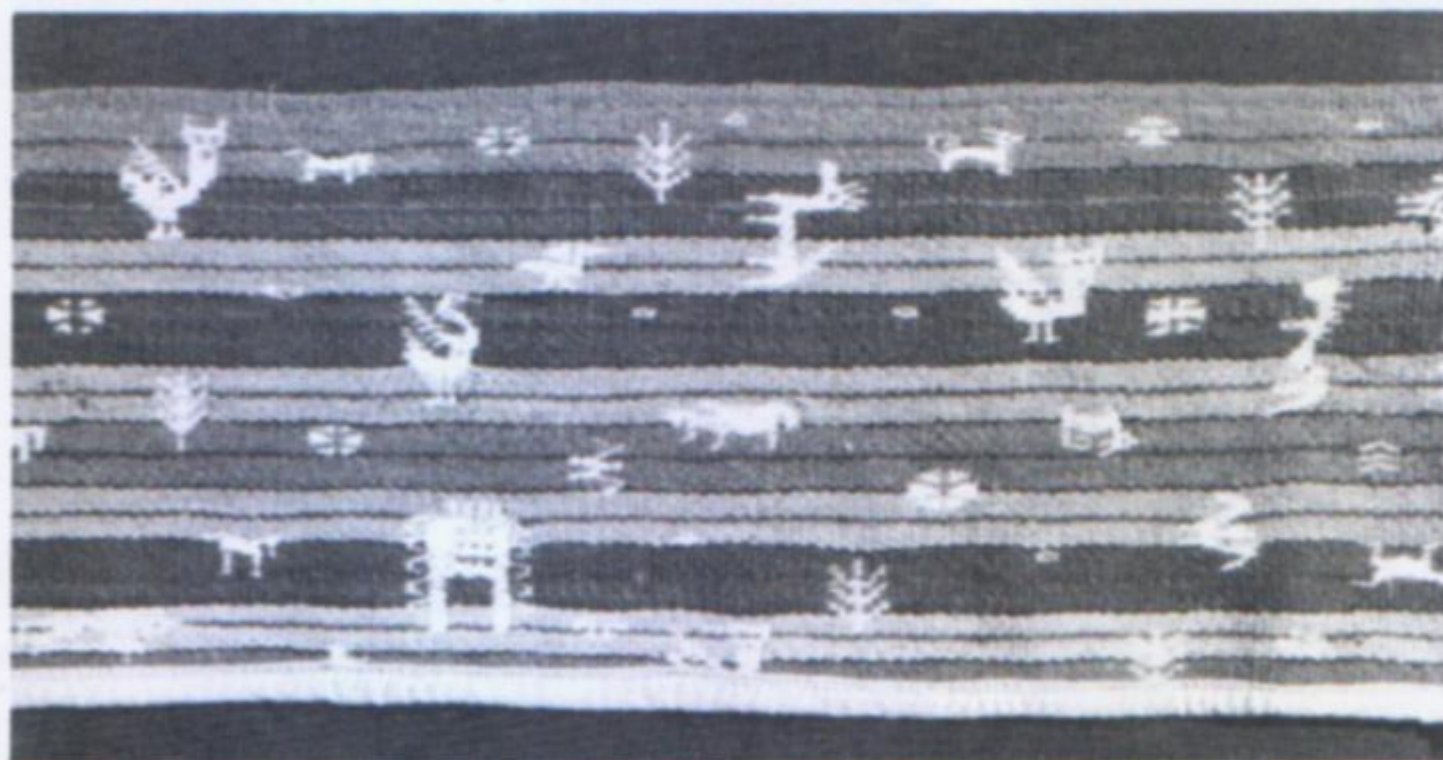
It is difficult to determine when knitting became a popular and commonplace craft in the Andes. Some early chroniclers who documented indigenous crafts were not knowledgeable about textile techniques, and



others used the term "knitting" loosely. Once the indigenous people learned knitting, they used it almost exclusively for caps, drawing on their heritage of woven textiles for inspiration. 3:4, 3:5.

For people so immersed in textile traditions and so expert at textile techniques, knitting must have represented a fascinating challenge. It seems natural that knitting would become the preferred way to make headgear. A knit cap is warmer and more practical than a wrapped band headdress and no more time-consuming to make. Knitting had the added advantage of being a mobile craft requiring few supplies; highland folk could knit as they walked, herded llamas or gossiped in the market.

As a result of various attempts by the Spaniards to impose dress codes upon the Quechua and Aymara people during the post-Conquest and Colonial periods, many indígenas incorporated some type of European-style hat, montera, into their traditional costume. 2:10, 2:12-14, 3:15, 4:1. To this day ch'ullus reflect the ancient custom of regional headgear; the patterns and colors still enable highlanders to identify each other's communities. These knit caps are sometimes the only remnant of traditional dress, worn even under construction hardhats and miners' helmets to combat the frigid climate of the altiplano.



Above, 3:4 Antique cap, sheep's wool, from Calamarca, Bolivia. Dark purple lines separate the bright stripes of wine and red, with ecru designs. Left, 3:5 Detail of an antique woven Calamarca belt with similar colors and spatial design arrangement as in cap above. The Tiahuanaco gateway motif appears in bottom row. (See Chapter Five.) Collection of Jonathan Hill.



5

6

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3:H Variety of Mochica Warrior headgear, 450-700 AD. Nos. 1 and 3 are drawn from Lumbreras (1974); Nos. 2, 4, 5, 6, 7 are drawn from Doig (1983).



3:6



3:7



3:8



3:9

3:6 Antique cap from Calamarca area, Bolivia, of finely-striped wool. Wine, dark teal and dark brown with ecru figures. Randomly-oriented figures, including some animals upside down, cover most of the striped background. Several larger figures have smaller ones within them. This design arrangement is common to Calamarca weaving and rare in the knitting. Collection of the Museo de Etnografia y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia. 3:7 Antique alpaca cap from the Bolivian altiplano south of LaPaz. Cap was begun with a row of fine puntas, and worked down to the base, then up toward the tip. Collection of Museo de Etnografia y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia. 3:8 Sheep's wool cap from the Bolivian altiplano, probably north of LaPaz. In beige with blue, red, green and white glass seed beads knitted in. Worn by women. Collection of the Museo de Etnografia y Folklore, La Paz, Bolivia. 3:9 Cap from the Bolivian altiplano, probably north of LaPaz. Hot pink with knit-in seed bead motifs. The crown motif shows Colonial influence and is unusual in knitting. Collection of Jeff Appleby. Also shown in Plate 8.



3:10



3:11



3:12



3:13



3:14



3:15



3:10 Unusual old wool cap, ecru with dark green, wine and blue designs from Sica Sica area, Bolivia. Weavings from the area share motifs of barley plants, llamas and the wavy borders. Cap has puntas around the base of the tip. Collection of Roger Yorke. 3:11 Two-pointed wool cap with popcorn stitch texture, from Department of Cuzco, Peru. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 3:12 Antique Bolivian cap in soft red, gold and ecru dyed alpaca, from Bolivar region, Bolivia, late 19th century. Collection of Roger Yorke. 3:13 Sheep's wool ch'ullu from Cuzco area, Peru, in black, red, green, gold. Collection of Dennis Randall. 3:14 Sheep's wool ch'ullu from Bolivar area, Bolivia, similar to one shown in 1928 book, *Bolivia*, by Roberto Gerstmann. Collection of Jonathan Hill. 3:15 Ch'ullu in sheep's wool from northern Potosí Department, Bolivia, perhaps Pocoata. Patterning is similar to Pocoata leggings, (3:29). Colors are black, orange, wine and ecru. 8.5" x 13." Bottom photo, 3:16 Weaver, Tinta, Peru, photographed by Martín Chambi, ca. 1925. Ch'ullu and costume from this area are similar today. See Plate 6, #7.

Other Knitted Accessories

Bags and Purses

Highlanders knit colorful purses and bags (*monederos*, *bolsas* or *bolsitas*) in every size and shape imaginable. Plate 9. They range from tiny seven-centimeter coin purses to big fiesta bags 40 to 55 centimeters long. Shapes, motifs and colors vary



3:I Three whimsical Peruvian animal- and bird-shaped silk coin purses, or *monederos* typical of the late 1800s.

regionally. Drawstrings around the tops secure the bags' contents, typically money or magic charms and/or coca leaves. External pouches or compartments shape some bags and serve to separate and organize belongings. Antique silver coins, beads, and tassels embellish many purses; others have the owner's name, village, and a date knit into the design. 3:J, 3:17-18.

Especially amazing for their detail and craftsmanship are the figure purses representing three-



Upper right, 3:J Woolen purse with loop at top, probably designed to be hung from a belt. Colors: Red-orange, purple, rose green and tan. Vertical slot for inserting coins. From Hacienda Porkon, Cajamarca Valley, Peru. Collected in 1951. Height: 15 inches without tassel. Collection of Musée de l'Homme, Paris. Above left, 3:17 Woolen purse of type used by cholas in the Sucre/Chuquisaca area, Bolivia, and called "*bolsa de chola con illas*," or with old money pieces. Red, white, grey, and multicolored handspun wools; height: 26 cm. Collection of Museo Antropológico, Sucre. Right, 3:18 Coin-decorated purses, or *bolsitas*, from Parquipucyu, LaPaz, Bolivia, used in dance ceremonies. One blue, one red with multicolored patterning; each with three trapezoidal pouches. Height: 14 cm. Collection of Museo Antropológico, Sucre, Bolivia.

dimensional people or animals, with pouch-like extensions forming their legs. 3:I. Andean women have carried these figure purses for at least one hundred years. Charles Wiener, a Frenchman traveling in Peru in 1880, describes a visit to a Cuzco society lady, "...wrapped in a manta [shawl], she receives her guests. She often carries a breviary [hymn/prayer book] and a rosary; her purse, filled with small coins, is not in her pocket but held in her hand. These pretty little purses are knit of silk and represent animals or dolls, fat or thin according to the state of the lady's pocketbook [finances]." (Wiener 1880, author's translation).

Luxurious purses were knit of vicuña or a mixture of vicuña and silk. An unusual or particularly beautiful one was a source of great pride, and as Wiener noted, was held in the hand to be shown off. They were perfectly suited for holding the precious little gold and silver coins in use at the time. It is uncertain whether indigenous women borrowed the figure purse concept from Spanish women or vice versa, but we do know that women in colonial times knit their own *monederos*. The native Peruvian women perhaps were



3:J

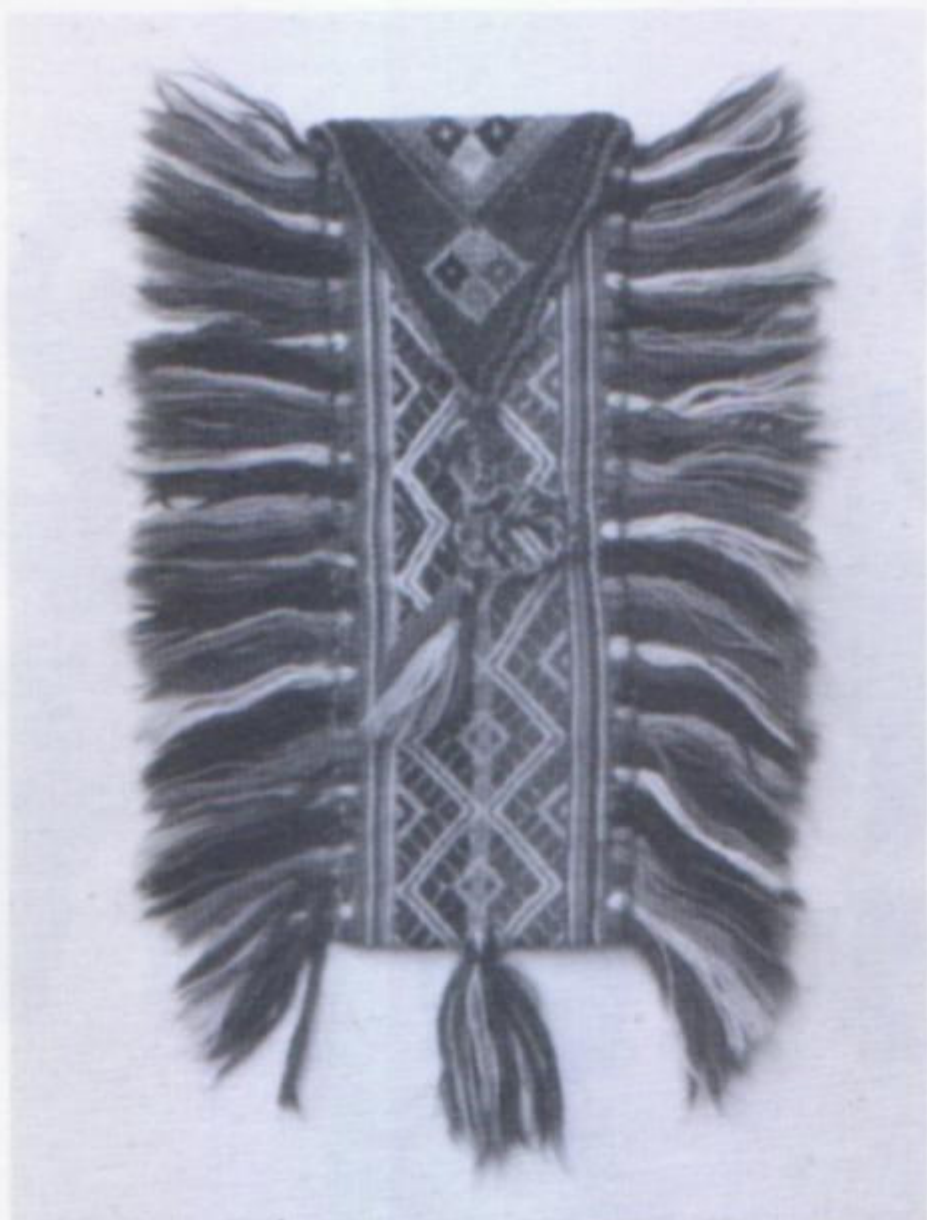




3:19 Contemporary knitted and stuffed figures found for sale in many Peruvian tourist markets. From left, one-legged man with crutch, female dancer with wide pollera (skirt) and shawl, man with poncho holding large yellow flower, viejo (old man) folk dancer with beard and crooked cane, diablada (devil dancer). The idea for these popular ornaments is said to have been reintroduced by a Peace Corps project. These colorful and intricate figures show the Andean knitters' skill and ingenuity.



Left to right. 3:20 Knitted 'thin man' figure monedero, sheep's wool, LaPaz, Bolivia. Back of shirt opens at neck, body and legs are hollow, head is stuffed. Shirt is purple/white stripes, pants are black with red, pink and yellow stripes, with green, pink, orange, yellow and white figures. Hat brim is crocheted. Each foot has a bound-off slot in each side, visible on right foot. 9 1/2 inches (24 cm.) high, 20-50 years old. 3:21 PachaMama ceremonial bag from Potosí, Bolivia. Handspun alpaca in red, blue, green and natural brown. 3:22 Bag in the form of a tonsured monk, complete with removable hood on his capuche, and hands with separate fingers. Head and feet are stuffed; made in natural greys and dark brown handspun wool and alpaca; Height 10 inches (26 cm). From Potosí Department, Bolivia.



3:23 Monedero, 20 cm x 8 cm (18 cm including fringe) made from a woven band with supplementary warp floats on a paired warp ground, and multicolored fringe. A knitted flap has been added by picking up stitches along top edge. From Cuzco Department, Peru.



3:24 Antique llama figure purse from the Bolivian Altiplano made in extremely fine wool. Measuring 6 cm. x 11 cm., it features tiny ears with green tassels, tapered tubular legs, fur made of loosely-plied wool stitched on in loops. Twelve antique silver Bolivian coins dating from 1704 to 1901 embellish this exquisite piece. The smallest coin, 1 cm. wide, is stamped with Potosí-1852 and a llama design.



3:K Llama figure purse of dark grey handspun wool, with textural bumps made almost like an embroidered bullion stitch; probably Potosí Department, Bolivia.

continuing a tradition by knitting a useful adaptation of the tiny three-dimensional looped figures embellishing textiles excavated from the pre-Hispanic tombs of Paracas. Individual 3-to 6-centimeter stuffed animals made in cross-knit looping, but identical in form to the little knitted purses of the 1900s, have been found in archeological sites in both Paracas and Ancon, Peru. Examples are in the collection of the Lowie Museum, Berkeley, California; and the Amano Museum, Lima, Peru. (See D'Harcourt, *Plate 68B*.) Vendors in Peruvian tourist markets sell little handknit stuffed animals, birds and people influenced by early figure purses. 3:19.

These clever little purses of silk or fine wool were fashionable around the turn of the century in both Peru and Bolivia. The diminutive llama purse shown in 3:24 and *Plate 9* is a treasure, unusual because few antique monederos of this size and perfect workmanship have been preserved. *Plate 9* also shows two antique animal bags from the Bolivian altiplano. Knit with realistic details, both of these rare bags may have been created by the same masterful knitter. *Plate 9*, #s 1 & 5.

Another antique Bolivian purse has knit-in designs of tall thin men in baggy pants. These motifs echo the shape of the purse itself. 3:20, *Plate 9* #2. A horizontal slit with a drawstring at the back shoulders allowed coins to be inserted to fill the body and legs. Each foot



3:L Pair of Peruvian knitted dolls from Department of Cuzco, red wool with yellow stripes and crocheted hats. Collected in 1938. 21 cm. high. Collection of Musée de l'Homme. In the early 20th century, figure purses and stuffed knit dolls were popular tourist items.



3:M Antique Bolivian bird purse with drawstring top. Knit of fine yellow crochet cotton, 7 cm. high, with black neck ring, white feet, cerise and yellow wool tassels. Rows of eyelet stitch give feather texture to the wings and tail. Eyes are glass beads sewn onto sequins.

has two eyelet holes, indicating that perhaps a cord passed through them to tie and secure the pouch. The coins embellishing it date from 1816 to 1866.

The cylindrical three-dimensional forms for this monedero and for all figure purses are knit in the round on double-pointed needles with increases and decreases for the shaping. Color changes designate the body parts and clothes. The knitter of the "thin man" monedero made the clothing components by starting at the top of the hat/head with red. She continued in white for the face and crocheted a red hat brim, completing the hat without having to make a separate crown. She added purple at the neck for the striped shirt/torso. She then knit the patterned pants/legs down from the waist as two tubes. To make the clothing details, she picked up stitches where needed; the purple peplum is knit from stitches picked up around the waist of the striped shirt. Besides lending realism, this clever technique eliminates the need to make separate clothes for a small figure. Finally, she stitched on separately-knit arms.

The Earth Mother, PachaMama, is re-created as a knitted figure bag, used in challa, or blessing ceremonies to hold magical charms. 2:23, 3:21, Plate 31. Today, figure purses are made and used exclusively in Bolivia. Women of the Potosí, Sucre

and La Paz regions make especially interesting and intricate ones. Contemporary figure purses are typically larger than earlier models. 3:19. They depict a menagerie of creatures, as well as citizens such as cholos, cholas and monks. 3:22, 3L, 3M.

Highlanders sometimes knit bags specifically for carrying their coca leaves. An unusual old coca bag from the Bolivian altiplano is shown in Plate 9. Many women use knitted bags for their coca supply, while men more commonly carry it in woven bags.

Knitted bags of all varieties are more common in Bolivia, but Peruvians also make some fine ones. One unusual bag from the Cuzco area, has a knitted flap on a woven band body. 3:23. The patterns and dark tones of an unusual two-legged bag from Chinchero echo the aesthetics of the traditional caps. Plate 5. Motifs and colors of little purses from Pitumarca, Lauramarca and other areas match those of the regional ch'ullus.

Andean women still knit their own purses, although wool, cotton or acrylic yarns have replaced silk and vicuña. Perhaps as a result of the need to carry bulky rolls of devaluated paper money, purses have become larger over the years. No longer used as a fashion accessory, they are rolled and tucked into the owner's bosom, or pocket, or skirt waistband.



a



b

3:25 a and b *Pasamontaña*, or mask from the Bolivian highlands in handspun alpaca; knit by women. Collection of Haffenreffer Museum of Anthropology, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island. This mask was collected in 1966; it is possible that this type is no longer worn.

Masks

For both festive celebrations and somber ceremonies, highland men wear a variety of knitted headgear for which we have no exact name. The objects most closely resemble our "ski masks" and are called masks for lack of a more descriptive name. In Peru, masks are worn for many occasions, but they are rarely used in Bolivia. An unusual Bolivian example is called a *pasamontaña*, literally a "mountain crosser." 3:25 a and b. However this name is also applied to some Bolivian caps. All of the types shown here cover the entire head, and all but the Bolivian example have a close-fitting neck extension. Typically knit by women, the masks all have contoured heads with eyeholes, mouth openings, and three-dimensional noses and chins. The masks described below are from Peru.

Men wear the fairly common Huancayo-type mask during celebrations such as the fiesta of the Virgin of Cucharcas held in September. 3:27. Knitters make these loosely-crafted woolen dance masks in many color combinations with traditional stripes and motifs. Young men wear the fringed *ukuku* costume for a coming-of-age ceremony. (Wolinsky, 1988.) See page 20. A diamond-shaped cheek pattern embellishes both the Huancayo area and Cuzco area masks 2:20, 3:27, Plate 21. Similar colorful masks and fringed *ukuku* costumes are worn by young men who trek to a snowy valley east of Cuzco for the Q'oyllur Riti or Star of the Snow pilgrimage. Plate 20.

Dancers cavort in fringed costumes, wearing masks with unruly alpaca topknots, to represent a monkey or *kusilli* at the July celebration of Our Lady of Carmel in Paucartambo. The plain ecru mask is knit of undyed wool with embroidered black and pink outlines encircling the mouth and eyes. 3:26. Dancers with similar masks celebrate the nativity of the Virgin at Ayaviri, a village north of Puno. The masked dancers play at being different animals whose natural movements they imitate. Embroidered whiskers and eyebrows animate these fanciful masks.



3:26 Dance mask from Cuzco Department, Peru, of handspun, undyed wool with embroidered details. Used in Ayaviri, Peru. Collection of Lowie Museum of Anthropology. 3:27 Dance mask from Huancayo, Peru. Made in commercial wool.

Leggings

For certain Bolivian fiestas, indígena men wear patterned woolen leggings which women knit from handspun yarns. The colors and design arrangements vary with the region. The leggings from Tarabuco are short and colorful. 2:B, 2:24, *Pattern 3*. Those from the Pocoata area are longer and knit in light and dark natural tones of sheep's wool with red accents, often in the diagonal knitting technique. 3:28, 3:29.

Armwarmers

Young men from the Peruvian Department of Huancavelica sport the most flamboyant knit clothing of any Andean group. The costume is described on page 12, 13. For market days and important regional celebrations, they wear their best attire, including knitted *medias* or socks, and oversleeves or armwarmers, called *maquitos*, from *maqui* or arm, (Q.) or *sobremangas*, over-sleeve, (Sp.). 2:4-6, 3:30. Young men stuff their pantlegs down into intricately-patterned knit socks, and tie plaited cords with bunches of dangling pompoms around their calves at the tops of their socks.

They pull the *maquitos* on over their bayeta jackets or sweatshirts. These are held up with a strap, *huato* which passes over the shoulders. According to Guillermo Sayan Pizzali who has done pioneering fieldwork on the *maquitos* of Huancavelica, in the past they secured them with a patterned woven strap. Now a commercially woven acrylic braid is used, of the type stitched around the edges of *ch'ullus* to make long ties. The same braid is also used to mark the ears of the llamas at the fiesta of Santiago.

Pizzali's thorough study reveals many details about *maquitos* of the Yauli area of Huancavelica. The yarn employed was handspun two-ply wool, dyed with aniline colors; it is still used to knit certain colors and motifs. Commercial wool was used in the 1950s

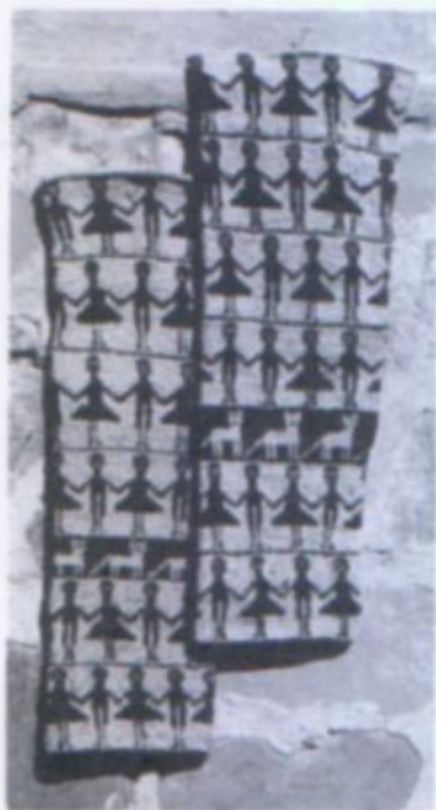
through the mid-1970s, when it was mostly replaced by commercial acrylic yarn. Knitters now buy this yarn as scraps from machine-knitting sweater industries in nearby Huancayo. The scraps are sorted and rolled into little balls. This explains the hundreds of knots inside the caps and armwarmers, even in solid-color sections. The availability of myriad colors has inspired Huancavelica knitters to include a bit of each one in their most glorious work.

The knitters value the acrylics for their variety of color, fineness and low cost, and the quality of items produced with them is excellent. In certain places, such as the territory of Chopcca, the community of Pachaclla and other parts of the district, backgrounds of *ch'ullus* and *maquitos* are knit in commercial white cotton. *Plate 4*.

Maquitos are worn in the regions of Yauli (Huancavelica Province), Lircay (Angaraes Province), Paucara (Acobamba Province), and Salcabamba (Tayacaja Province), all located in the Huancavelica Department. Their colors and design motifs vary with the locale. The motifs are distributed among four to six wide pattern bands. Most *maquitos* have some black areas. Other important colors used are orange, rose, and white which they say *da eleganza*, "gives elegance." When a close family member dies, men put on their *luto*, or mourning, *maquitos* knit in dark colors — black, purple, blue and green. *See Back cover*.

Besides protecting the wearer from the cold, the patterns and colors in the *maquitos* distinguish people from each community. They give social prestige and power, as the women who knit them always try to make the best ones. They knit the *maquitos* with a set of 5 needles made of wire or bicycle spokes, and say it takes about one week to knit a pair.

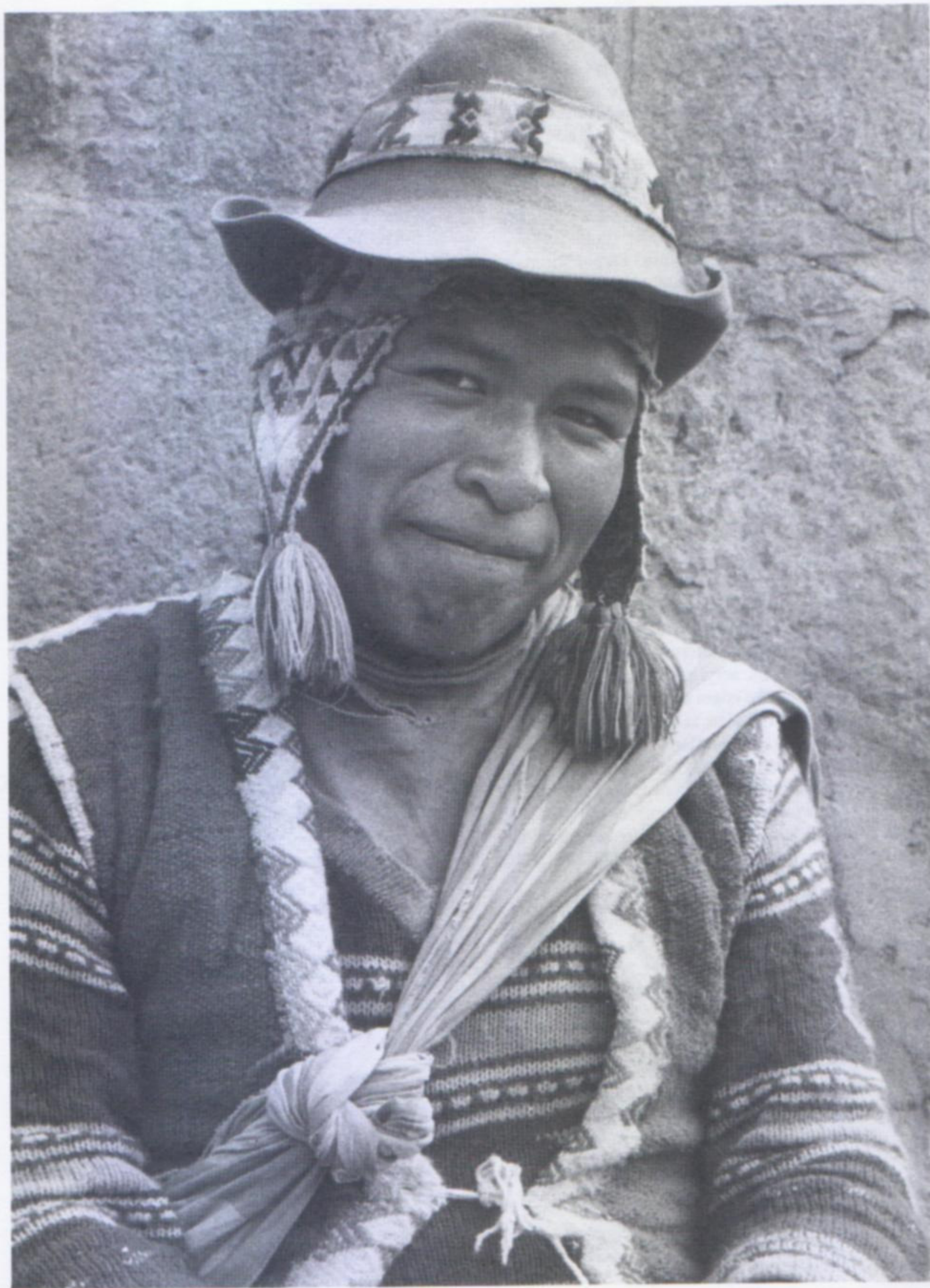
Pizzali's study includes over thirty sketched motifs and their interpretations. The most common motifs are lakes, *ccochas* (Q.) or *lagunas* (Sp.). Other popular designs are rivers, stars, *chaskas* (Q.) or *estrellas* (Sp.), plants, flowers, butterflies, birds and dogs, foxes and pumas. (Pizzali, 1981.)



3:28 Leggings, northern Potosí, Bolivia in handspun wool with zig-zag design similar to hat in 3:15. 3:29 Leggings, Pocoata, Bolivia. Diagonal knitting in handspun wool.



3:30 Close-up of armwarmers from Huancavelica with the *zorro*, or fox motif. *See Graph 1*.



4:1 Knitter from Quiquijana, south of Cuzco, Peru, proudly models his ch'ullu along with the typical felt hat with woven hatband typical of the area. He wears a purchased knit sweater and woven bayeta vest. Bayeta pants and pink-striped ponchos are still part of a young man's costume there. 1:1 shows a boy from Quiquijana photographed in 1925.

Knitting Customs in the Andes

Learning To Knit

Who knits? How do they learn to knit in the first place? In much of the highlands, children wear knitted caps and begin to understand the social implications of costume inherent in their families' culture. They watch their elders knitting. The child's father, or less often, mother, makes the first few caps or armwarmers. If an infant grows out of his ch'ullu, a father may put his own on his little son and knit a new one for himself. Learning mostly by observation and using a model made by an older family member, a five or six year-old begins to knit. In areas where knitting remains an important part of the culture, children have the constant help and support of relatives as teachers.

A boy of eight, living where he will be expected to knit his own caps, can already knit quite well, and by age ten has made himself a ch'ullu he can be proud to wear. The young Taquile Islander knitting in *Plate 27* is only eight years old; he wears a cap made by his father. When a boy is too old to have the luxury of a cap knit by his father, he may proudly sport his own imperfect creation. Since they begin to knit when they are so young, adolescent knitters often are already very skilled. The fine cap made and modeled by Silverio Ayca Adovere, age 15, in *Plate 26* is a good example. Andean teens work hard and have few diversions and distractions; like teens everywhere they love to dress distinctively so they often excel at creating beautiful knitted clothing for themselves.

While few of us tackle projects without stitch-by-stitch directions, such pattern guides are not used by Andean knitters. A young boy or girl learning to knit will copy typical designs knit by family or friends, then will move on to the challenge of projects with spontaneous shaping and personal choice of patterning. Charted motifs from European cross-stitch books are used occasionally. 4:5.

Sex Roles in Knitting

Whether or not a boy will learn to spin and a girl to knit or vice versa depends on the traditional sex roles in the textile processing in his or her community. These roles vary from region to region and are usually well-defined but certainly not without exception within a specific area. On the Bolivian altiplano, most men knit their own caps, and if not using commercial yarns, they often spin the fibers as well. Many of

these same men are active weavers. Since a ch'ullu communicates so much identity and pride, many highlanders consider them too personal to be made by anyone else. Occasionally some men will buy and wear a cap made by another man from their village who is known to be a good knitter. In the Aymara communities near Leque, Bolivia, where men no longer wear ch'ullus, mothers spin and dye the sheep's wool they use to knit colorful little caps for their baby boys and girls.

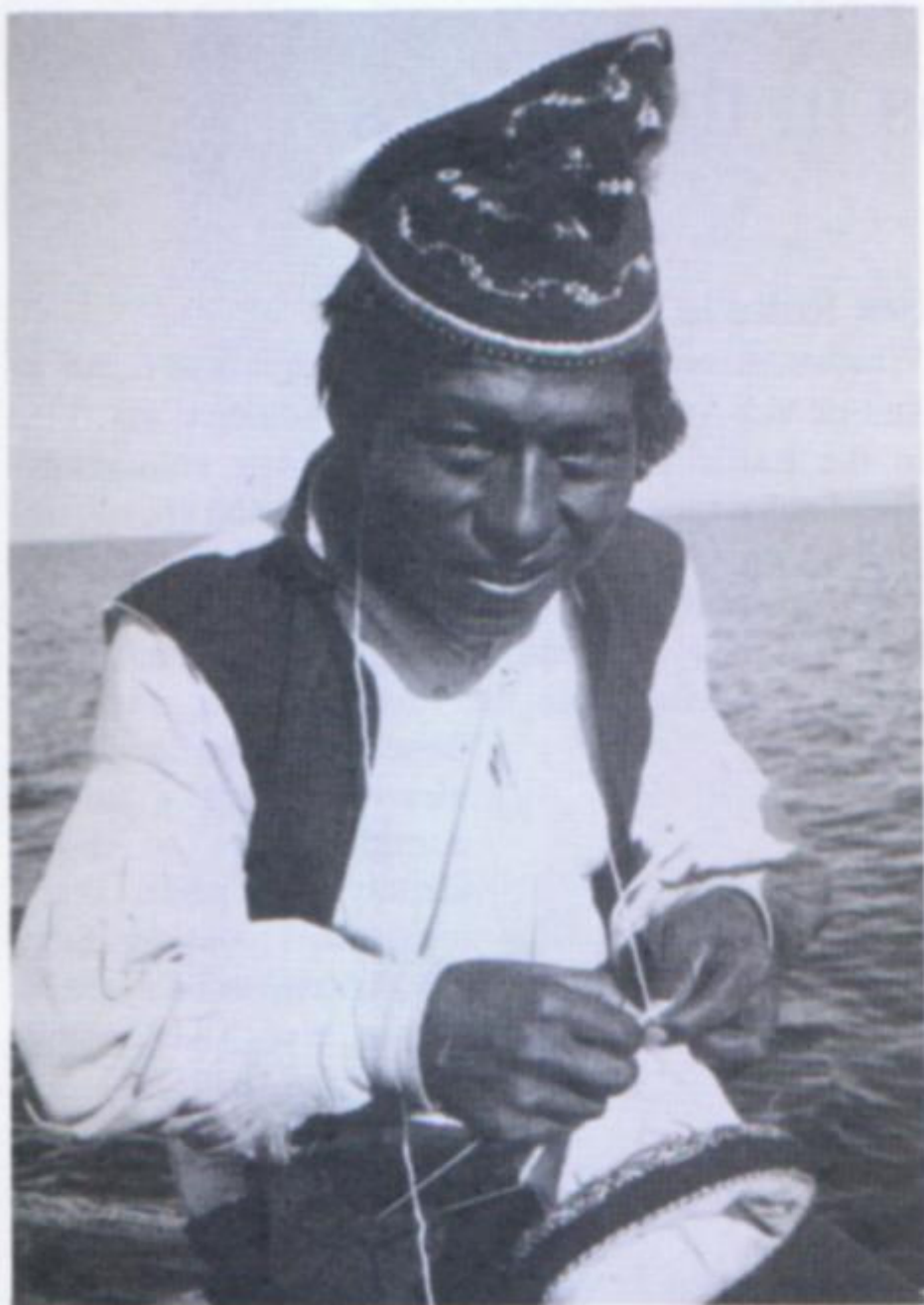
On Taquile Island the fathers knit caps for themselves and for their sons and daughters. 4:3. The men of Taquile manage the artisan's cooperative and knit both the traditional and tourist items (although some of the non-traditional vests are now made on knitting

machines). On nearby Amantani Island, women do most of the knitting sold in the co-op store that is run by the men. In Peruvian villages along the western side of Lake Titicaca and on Amantani, where the women wore ruffled caps as children, they usually continue to knit them for their daughters.

Many little girls in towns such as Acora, Chucuito and Illave, Peru, still wear the ruffled caps. *Plate 7*. These caps and some Taquile caps are now being sold in the artisan's market in Puno, Peru, and are examples of indigenous crafts which have been turned into tourist items. The caps available in the market generally are not of the same quality as the



4:2 Ch'ullu from northern Potosí Department, Bolivia, navy wool, red, white and yellow daisies. A spectacular example of fine gauge, at 38 stitches per 2 inches.



4:3 Taquile Island knitter at work on a chullo soltero.

ones the people make for themselves. In the villages near Cuzco, the men and teenage boys usually make their own ch'ullus but women make many of the mass-produced "traditional" caps for sale in the Cuzco tourist market.

Even where the women do not customarily knit ch'ullus, knitting techniques are common knowledge to them. They often make their own monederos or knit sweaters and other garments for their families. They



4:4 Miguel Huatta Cruz, Taquile Island, Peru, knitting a purse. Note the yarn draped around his neck to maintain proper tension.

knit socks for themselves and their men in Chavin, Peru. 4:7, 4:8. They knit armwarmers for their husbands in Huancavelica. Occasionally, men will knit sweaters, ponchos, caps and gloves for the tourist trade, but this commercial work is usually done by the women.

Friends admiring my Andean caps frequently ask how long it takes to knit one. Most of the caps shown in this book took from four to six weeks of



Far Left, 4:5 Cap made by Mathilde Bilbao of Juliaca, Peru, for her husband, Celestino. Motifs from a cross-stitch pattern book were used for the mini-popcorn-stitch designs. Left, 4:6 Mariano Bacra with wife, Anastasia, and their infant son, from the Yahuacari community, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia. Mariano originally knit the baby's ch'ullu for himself.





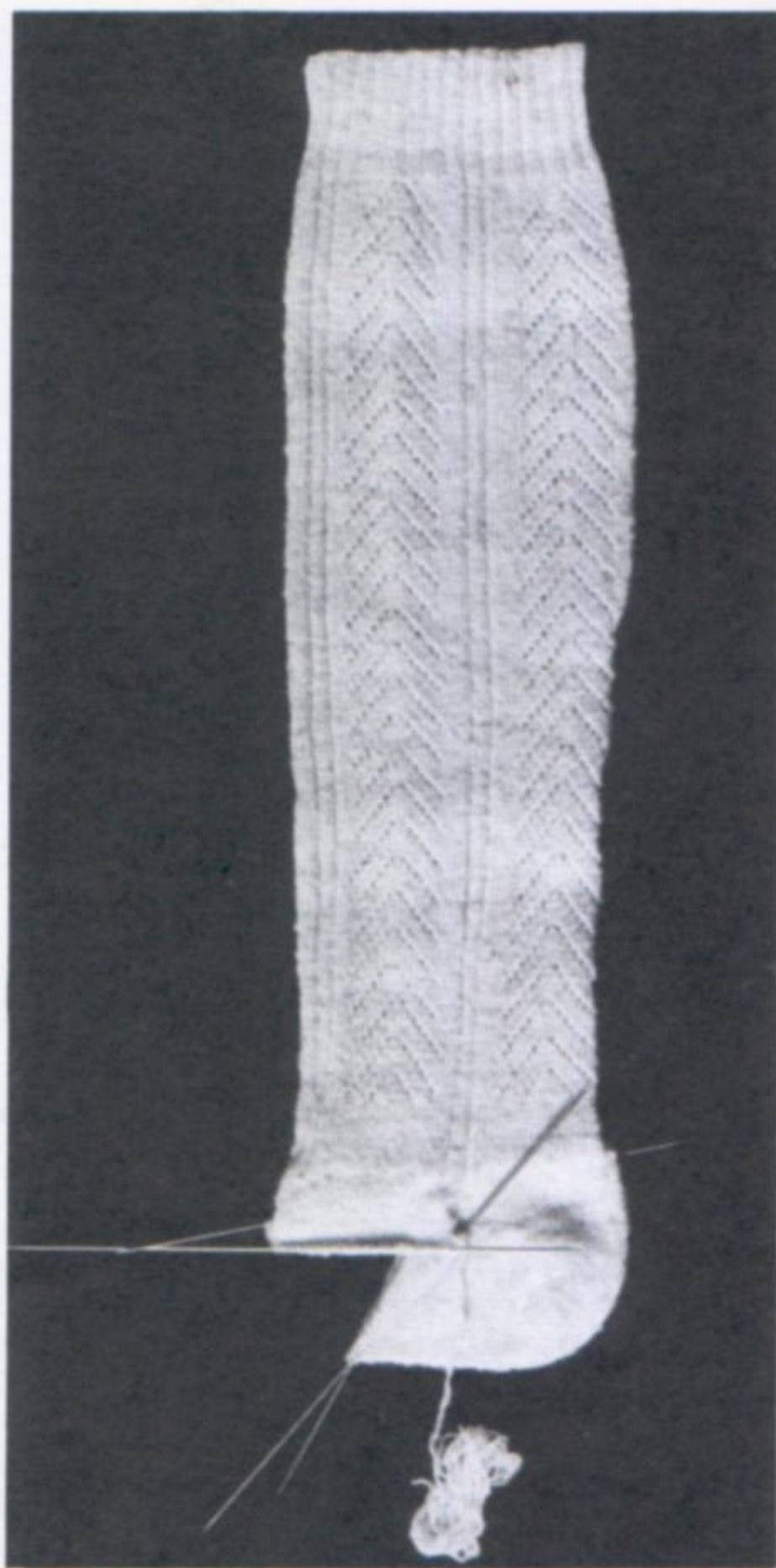
4:7 Justinata Serpa of Chavin, Peru making an eyelet-decorated woman's sock. She knits as she walks, toting the extra balls of handspun wool in a basket and looping the yarn around her neck to maintain even tension.

intermittent work to complete. Indígenas work hard at the chores necessary for survival; they pick up their knitting needles only in rare moments of repose. They typically knit in the season between harvesting and the next planting, and then only during daylight hours, since the light in many homes is a single candle, or perhaps an alcohol lamp. One highlander estimated that a ch'ullu would take four to seven days of straight work to knit.

Craftsmanship and Tradition

Andean knitters link exceptional creativity with meticulous craftsmanship and a rich cultural heritage to produce their superb folk art. The craftsmanship of a knitted textile reveals the artisan's skill, whereas originality of design and use of color exhibit creativity. Universally accepted standards of craftsmanship which involve careful workmanship and neat finishing techniques guide the Andean knitters. In fact, various aspects of the craft, such as spinning and dyeing, involve so many people in the community that almost everyone can judge the quality of a knitted piece.

Although techniques vary from project to project (caps are made differently than socks for instance), a well-crafted traditional item of Andean origin demonstrates some basic qualities. During the knitting process, a skillful worker employs many checks to ensure perfect results. The increases and decreases must be done carefully, almost invisibly, to shape a



4:8 Sock in progress by Justinata Serpa.

piece, resulting in even curves and smooth surfaces. The floats, yarn strands carried on the back between color sections, must not be too long or the knit loses stability and risks getting snagged. The front of the work should remain flat and smooth, not puckered by floats stretched too tautly from one color to the next.

The widely-used technique of weaving in the unused colors on the back helps to avoid the tendency to pull the floating strands too tightly. The reverse side of this technique can be as neat as the front. 4:9 a and b. This method also eliminates holes or spaces between color changes and creates a stable fabric not unlike a tightly-woven cloth. As a result, these knits do not have the stretch and elasticity that we normally associate with knitted textiles. Caps made in this way efficiently block the chilly highland winds and many are rigid enough to be worn straight up in a cone shape. Plates 16, 28.



4:9 a and b Jumping cat ch'ullu knit by Eduardo Ch'oqué, age 12, Llallagua, Bolivia. (a) Outside view. (b) Inside of cap, showing the weaving technique used for tying down the unused colors.

Gauge

The fine gauge of Andean work distinguishes it from contemporary knitting of other parts of the world. The gauge of ch'ullus in my collection ranges from 18 to 52 stitches per 2 inches, 25 to 30 stitches being average. An unfinished cap from Taquile Island has a gauge of 30 stitches to 2 inches and the needles fall between our sizes 000 and 0000 at 1.35 mm. I have defined gauges in the *Regional Characteristics* section as coarse: 14-16 stitches per 2 inches; medium: 18-24 stitches per 2 inches; fine: 25 or more stitches per 2 inches. Andean knitters use needles purchased in the markets, or home-made versions made by sharpening fine wire or bicycle spokes. In the hands of an expert knitter, the thin needles used for Andean knitting produce uniform stitches and a fabric so dense that colors carried underneath do not show through.

Planning

Occasionally the basic technique and workmanship of a finished piece are passable, but upon careful examination it becomes evident that the item was made by an inexperienced knitter. The designs either do not meet or do not come out evenly all around, resulting in partial motifs. It is not unusual to find two petals without the flower, or a tail and a paw without the rest of the creature. The lively red and blue cap shown above and in Plate 37 was made by a 12-year old whose technique is excellent, but he lacks the experience (and probably the patience!) to figure out how to fit in complete cats and flowers all around. 4:9, 4:10.

Imperfect motifs are caused by too many or too few stitches within a pattern repeat, usually the result of a shaping miscalculation. These become visible as the work progresses, and are time-consuming to rip out and correct. A talented and imaginative knitter will find ingenious solutions to the problem. The remaining space can be filled with a larger or smaller but complete motif, requiring some mathematics to work out. The extra motif may or may not be related to the rest of the row. An excellent example of such a solution is found on the cap by Silverio Huanaco, who formed a little person to complete a row of birds and animals. 4:12, Plate 39. For this wonderful ch'ullu, he used over 20 different bird designs besides the ants, dogs, and flowers interspersed in the pattern stripes. 4:A. Silverio's artistry points out the relationship between skill and creativity — a superlative craftsman usually shows exceptional creativity when it is an acceptable part of his or her cultural heritage.

Facing page, upper left, 4:10 Detail of ch'ullu shown above by Eduardo Ch'oqué, who added a partial motif to complete rows of flowers and cats within a given number of stitches. Upper right, 4:11 Antique hat with improvised row endings from northern Potosí, Bolivia, yellow and natural black wool. Collection of Jeff Appleby. Center, 4:12 Detail, ch'ullu by Silverio Huanaco, age 35, Uncia area, Bolivia, knit in a gauge of 32 stitches to 2 inches. Note jog where new rounds begin, and the imaginative addition of a small person to complete a row of animals within the number of stitches. Bottom, 4:A Sketch of design motifs used in the cap knit by Silverio Huanaco, who used 20 varieties of bird motifs.



4:10



4:11



4:12



4:A



5:1 Cap and belt from Cala Cala, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia, showing the persistence of an ancient design arrangement called tocapus used on Incan woven garments. Tocupus are rows of orderly dark/light squares or rectangles filled with motifs that have evolved into pictographs.

Color and Design in Andean Knitting



5:2 Detail, eagle motif on ch'ullu from northern Bolivia, Department of Potosí. See Graph 13.

Design Elements

Andean knitted design elements have been influenced by numerous factors, beginning with the imagery of pre-Hispanic woven textiles. Some textile experts theorize that many ancient motifs are remnants of long-forgotten pantheistic symbology or even of primitive hieroglyphics. In any case, it is certain that throughout the Central Andes, pictorial textiles played an important role in visual communication, in spreading religion and in furthering cultural interchange between coastal and mountain peoples. Today, knitters in parts of Peru and Bolivia

incorporate pre-Hispanic patterns that have been handed down over the generations. 5:A. These include geometric configurations such as the triangular stairsteps, interlocking waves, stars, zigzag-edged triangles, and diamonds, commonly found on ancient weavings. 5:3, 5:4. The stylized birds, felines, llamas, fishes, snakes and foxes, plus egg- or seed-like symbols are sometimes used today as they were centuries ago, here a bit more realistic, there slightly exaggerated. 5:1, 5:2, 5:5, 5B.

We know neither how soon after the conquest knitting became widespread, nor much about the knit



5:A Kurti-style motif of a serpent from an embroidered Paracas mantle, 600 BC. Kurti style weaving and knitting motifs include snakes, eagles and olive branches. 5:20 and Graph 10 show modern version of snake.



5:3 Woven skirt trim, or buyto, from Cuzco, Peru, showing triangle/diamond patterns common on weaving and knitting of the area.



5:4 Detail, cap made by Leonardo Perceá, Cuzco area, Peru, using triangle/diamond motif, and bead trim. Knit-in letters are visible at bottom. See also Plate 5.



5:5 Detail, cap from Calamarca, Bolivia, Department of LaPaz. Tihuanaco Gateway motif appears in bottom row. See Graph 6, Plate 24. Collection of Steve Berger. Below: 5:B Tocapu arrangement of design motifs on a woven belt from Cala Cala, Bustillos Province, Potosí Department, Bolivia.

5:B



motifs used for three centuries following the conquest. At first knitters certainly borrowed familiar motifs from the weaving that was so prevalent and important in the Andes. With the Spanish conquerors and priests came Old-World religious and secular images which influenced both knitted and woven designs. The new varieties of livestock brought by explorers and settlers eventually cropped up in textile motifs. Cattle and horses with or without riders became common designs. 5:5, 5:8. Sheep, goats and chickens did not, perhaps because they were considered too unremarkable to be decorative. 5:9. Other Spanish and Portuguese-influenced textile symbols include lions and eagles and the fairly common Burgos Star from northern Spain, which has eight separate diamond-shaped rays, as opposed to the squared-off pre-Hispanic star.

An infinite variety of other patterns and design compositions exist, as many as there are knitters, since a great range of creativity is customary in traditional knitting. Decorative styles, whether pre-Hispanic, Iberian-influenced, or more recently evolved, are increasingly subject to outside influence from neighboring towns. Inspiration for contemporary



5:6 Mario Ccoyuri, age 18, from the Urcos region, Peru. His button-and bead-embellished ch'ullu ties and felt hat give him prestige and power.

ethnic design comes from many sources other than ancient culture and current social contact, such as nature and the artist's imagination. Knitted motifs glorify the natural world of wild creatures, plants and flowers. The incredible variety of birdlife in Peru and Bolivia — Andean geese, diving ducks, enormous condors, tiny hummingbirds, and ostrich-like rheas —

Right: 5:7 Ch'ullu with pumas or gatos in red, white and blue synthetic yarns by Faustino Nina, age 22, from LLallagua, Department of Potosí, Bolivia. It took him one month to knit the cap. 5:8 Cap dated 1956, from the Lake Titicaca area. Black and white wool with brown edging crocheted in alpaca, 21" x 9" (53 x 23 cm.). Designs include bulls, waves, ducks, flowers and a couple holding hands. Both cap and earflaps are of unusual length. Collection of Roger Yorke. 5:9 Cap from Potosí area, Bolivia in natural dark brown and cream wool with unusual chicken, goat and bull motifs. 5:10 Red, black and white condor cap from Oruro Department, Bolivia, made in acrylic yarns. 5:11 Rheas, or South American ostriches, sprint around a vibrant orange acrylic ch'ullu from Macha, Department of Potosí, Bolivia. 5:C Sketch of fiesta ch'ullu by Julian Colquechayma of Tomantata, Bolivia. Julian knit fanciful green and hot pink creatures against a black background. 5:12 Belt and ch'ullu in synthetic yarns from Bolívar, Bolivia. Wide red bands with bold motifs of white-and-yellow butterflies and swooping owls. Roosters parade around a green band near the top. Belt is woven in the warp-faced double cloth technique of the area with almost identical white-and-yellow owls. Belt: collection of Jonathan Hill. 5:13 Ch'ullu with green ground, orange and white flower and butterfly motifs from Department of Potosí, (Sacaca?) Bolivia. Woven gusset was added at left side to enlarge cap.



5:7



5:8



5:9



5:10



5:11



5:C



5:12



5:13

prompts many designs. The condor is considered king of the birds in Bolivian folklore and frequently appears in folk art motifs, including knitting. 5:10, *Graph 9*. Butterflies, deer, dogs, monkeys, viscachas (furry long-tailed chinchilla cousins), pumas, even scorpions and ants mingle on ch'ullus and knitted accessories. 5:7-5:13, 5:D. The human figure adorns knitting only occasionally, as static little people in orderly rows, or as horseback riders. Woven belts and ponchos sometimes depict trains, trucks, and helicopters, but I have never seen these on the knitting.

Architectural elements such as the stone gateway of Tiahuanaco also inspire Andean textile artisans. 3:5, 5:5. Hand-hewn stones used to pave sidewalks in Cuzco, Peru, have the same diamond-shape patterning used in knitting and weaving designs from the Cuzco region. Texturing the stones' surfaces, in addition to enhancing the sidewalk design, must originally have helped to prevent falls on wet walkways. (Most of the ancient stones, however, are now worn treacherously smooth.) On the knit caps, single white stitches dot the diamond motifs, intersecting them into smaller diamonds. 5:3, 5:4. The white stitches decorate and visually break up the larger forms. They also serve to tack down other colors used in the row, preventing overlong floats and stabilizing the fabric.



5:D The mountain viscacha (*Lagidium viscacia*), a member of the chinchilla family, grows to the size of a domestic cat. Its dense dark grey coat with black stripe down the back turns chocolate brown at the highest altitudes. The viscacha motif often appears on caps, bags, belts and garments from the Cuzco valley to central Bolivia.

Departing From Tradition

Creativity relating to the originality of departure from usual design elements and colors, displays itself in the amazing variety of imaginative motifs from places where eccentric or personal styles predominate. The desire to wear a strikingly unique item of clothing inspires distinctive creations. A wonderful spider/man/fly cap demonstrates one artisan's creative exuberance through the use of an unusual color scheme and familiar but seldom-used images. Their aesthetic interest lies in the fact that they are all out of proportion to one another. 5:C.

Creativity in some villages such as Taquile means innovation only within strict limits, confining



5:14 Ch'ulla with typical geometric motifs from Tinquipaya, near the city of Potosí, Bolivia. Navy and white with multicolored diamonds.

the knitter to rearranging age-old motifs and color combinations. In at least one area where traditional local designs for everyday knitting are orderly and dark, creating brilliant caps for fiestas must counteract the artistic frustration no doubt felt by some individuals. In the Potosí market I found a fluorescent orange cap with black and white rheas running round it. 5:11. The vendor told me it was from Macha. I knew Macha ch'ullus had dark backgrounds with fine burgundy and white flowers in neat rows. *Graph 16*. But then I took a truck to the village and discovered that besides the beautiful classic everyday ch'ullus, for certain celebrations the young men do make vivid caps with whimsical creatures like the ostriches.

The stylistic conventions of some areas, plus factors such as the isolation of remote communities, help to preserve the regional characteristics explored at the end of this chapter. Detailed ethnological studies might determine why artisans in certain areas proudly perpetuate traditional styles, while those in other areas with an equal amount of outside contact feel free to develop highly personal imagery with a dazzling palette, bringing to life cerise and turquoise-striped condors.



5:15



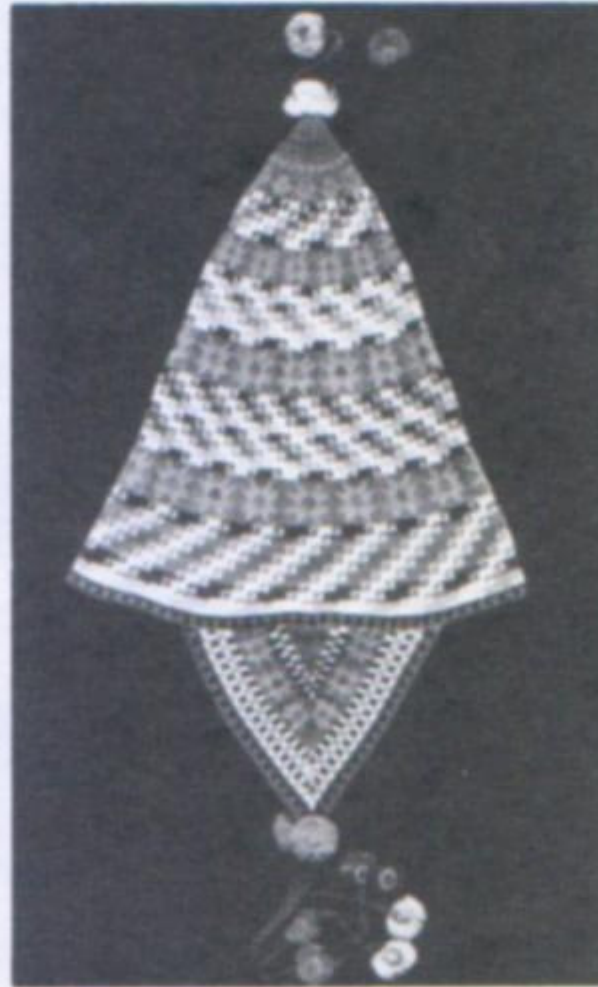
5:16



5:17



5:18



5:19



5:20

5:15 Ch'ullu from Ocongate, Cuzco area, Peru. Decorated by couching down strands of strung beads, or by stitching down several beads at a time. Collection of Alejandro Cabrera Reyes, Cuzco, Peru. 5:16 Fiesta ch'ullu from Cuzco region, Peru. Beads are couched onto pattern outlines, and sequins are stitched on top of the diamonds. 5:17 Ch'ullu from Pitumarca, Peru, with elongated top and typical animal motifs. See Graph 4. 5:18 Ch'ullu from Chipaya, Bolivia, knit by Santos Lopez Condori. White with geometric patterning in red and blue. 5:19 Elaborate ch'ullu with stars and wave designs from Bustillos Province, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia. 5:20 Ch'ullu from northern Potosí Department, Bolivia, with zigzag snake motif, Kurti style. Dogs, insects, viscachas, Inca stars, olive branches and human figures also decorate this striking black, red and white cap. Collection of Jonathan Hill.

Ch'ullus with contemporary motifs are shown in figures 5:7-13. Some outstanding examples of traditional design compositions are shown in figures 5:14-20. Antique ch'ullus with traditional designs are shown in *Chapter Three*.

Color

Some color combinations typical of the altiplano may appear gaudy to us. Remember that the knitters usually live in brown adobe houses in dry brown valleys surrounded by matching hills and mountains. Creating a unique and shockingly brilliant cap or armwarmers provides an inexpensive way to bring color as well as artistic expression into the monotony. This individual expression and the resultant sense of pride have great importance for people whose social and economic situations leave them little with which to distinguish themselves.

The bleakest environments often inspire the most exciting creations. Twice I have attended the mid-August Assumption celebration in a grim 13,000-foot Bolivian mining town to see the fabulous chullus of the region. The teenage boys and young men knit their own caps and wear them straight up like a cone, to show off the designs and impress the girls! *Plates 16, 28*. Both the dancers and fiesta spectators flaunt their newest and brightest creations. On one ch'ullu, black and white cows graze in a hot pink field; on another, gargantuan orange spiders crawl across the knitted earflaps; laughing red and blue pumas dance on yet another. Even the geometric patterns of this area combine blitzy colors, ziz-zag waves of chrome yellow, fuchsia or red, brilliant blue and white. Some boys now favor fluorescent combinations — orbit orange, neon green and shocking pink, which no longer seem garish in the context of the wearer and his environment with its luminous altiplano atmosphere.

Background Color Use

In traditional Andean knitting and weaving, the artisans' seemingly innate sense of color serves to create harmonious combinations. The color plates show gorgeous examples of their skill and artistry. Cap 9 in *Plate 6* exemplifies the color balance typical of highland work. The white ground and the diamonds of deep red with tiny white stitches coordinate dozens of colors. Rows of buttons and a tracery of white beads carry the background white to the earflaps; large tassels repeat five of the main colors. The whole forms a beautifully balanced composition.

This use of a single background color to unify small sections of unrelated colors is a device common to aesthetics of Andean knitting. 5:14. On the woolen armwarmers in *Plate 4*, note the alternating bands of red and black background. Two fine stripes between each patterned section help to harmonize the entire piece. The multicolored socks, shown in the same plate, would be extremely busy if it were not for the unifying black ground behind the dark and light jewel-like spots. Only on a narrow band of the cuffs are



5:21 Detail, cap from Llalagua area, Bolivia, with zigzag and hexagonal motifs. 5:22 Detail, cap from Northern Potosí Department, Bolivia with hexagonal motifs, Inca star symbol and tessellated diamonds. Gauge: 41 stitches per 2 inches. Note changing background in pattern bands.

brilliant colors juxtaposed, with careful attention to the repetition of hues.

In another aesthetic style, a multicolored striped background running behind the motifs also provides unity and color balance. Used on ch'ullus from central Peru to central Bolivia, this method is often employed with pattern motifs of one color. 5:21, 5:22. *Plate 4*



5:23 Girl's ruffled bonnet from Amantani Island with typical floral and leaf-patterned borders and pleated ruffle. 5:24 Three ch'ullus from Taquile Island. In cap on left, background colors alternate. In the center is a chullo soltero knit by Celso Machaca Flores, age 32. At right, a pintay chullo with scarlet tassel, or ticacha. 5:E Sketch of design motifs from pintay chullo pictured above. 5:25 Detail, pintay chullo designs. Background colors alternate in wine and black. Bottom band has a striped background within it.

shows white foxes forming an allover pattern on the cerise, blue, wine, and green stripes of a cap from Huancavelica, Peru. Caps from Calamarca, Bolivia, may feature ecru plants, birds and animals standing out against rust, orange and green striped backgrounds.

Colored stripes and plain motifs alternating with squares of striped motifs on plain fields typify the

positive/negative patterning of brilliant caps from the area south of Oruro, Bolivia. *Plate 12*. Finely-woven belts worn by men in that area have identical patterning. Individual dark and light motifs that appear alternately within squares of dark and light, or "checkered" backgrounds are called *tocapus*. 4:12, 5:1, 5:20, *Plate 43*.

Regional Characteristics

Over the centuries, the imaginative textile artists of the central Andes have developed distinctive regional styles for their knitting and weaving. Different motifs, color schemes and construction techniques characterize each area. Even neighboring villages may have specific local knitting patterns and colors.

These diverse textile styles have persisted because of the isolation imposed by the rugged Andean terrain, and the resulting inefficient transportation and communication systems. Also, highlanders living in secluded rural communities have felt a strong sense of their cultural heritage. They have demonstrated this pride by retaining the traditional handknit and handwoven costume. Isolation, plus pride in ethnic identity, have until recently helped to maintain heterogeneous textile characteristics.

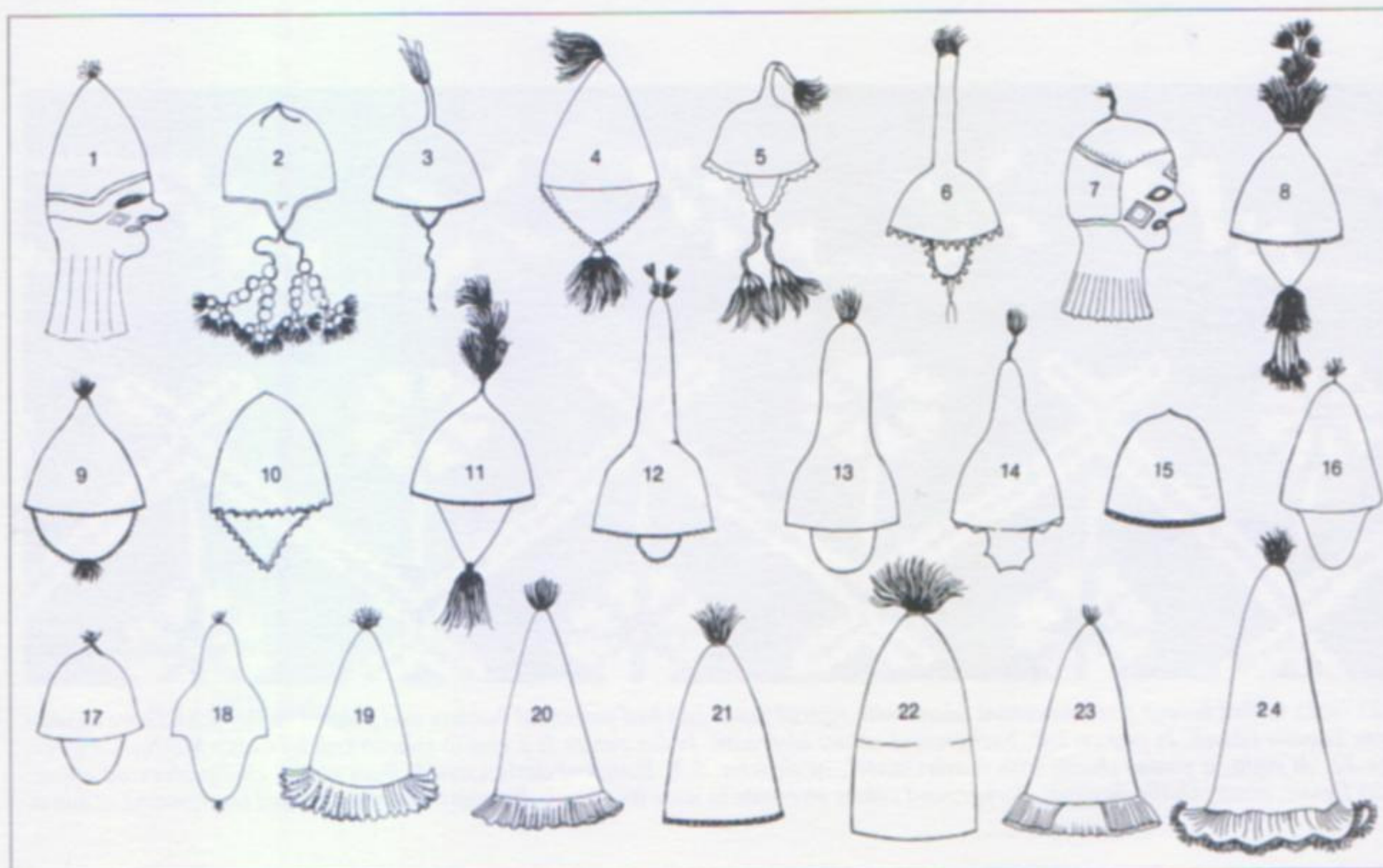
Many changes now affect the Andean way of life. The governments of both Peru and Bolivia are struggling to improve road and communication systems, and people are beginning to enjoy greater

mobility. In certain regions, many villagers are moving from outlying areas to nearby towns, hoping to find work. There they experience new economic and social pressures coupled with the bewildering modernity and anonymity typical of town life.

With mobility and outside contact has come the breakdown of some traditional cultural values, changes in dress being the most visible. Over the past five years, clothing changes have been especially dramatic. Merchants now import quantities of factory-made "Western-style" garments from the Orient and other places. This attire, readily available in town markets, has become fashionable among those unwilling to wear handmade clothing. Young men take great delight in sporting nylon jackets with motorcycle insignias and baseball caps emblazoned with American logos such as "Powered by Coors" and "Rothman King-Size."

As a consequence of increased outside contact, greater mobility and less interest in traditional costume, precise identification of textiles is not as

Peru



5:F Peruvian cap shapes. #1 Huancayo region. #2 Huancavelica region, Yauli. #3 Cuzco vicinity #4 Paucartambo, Ccatca, Pisac. #5 Pumacanchis, Pampallacta, Huacahuasi, Huilloc, Ollantaytambo region. #6 Chinchero. #7 Cuzco vicinity. #8 Central Cuzco province, Hurincusco, Huarahuara, Quiquijana-Ausangate, Laoramarc. #9 Urcos-Ccatca-Ocongate region. #10 Q'ero area. #11 Marcapata area. #12 Pitumarca area. #13 Rachqui-Tinta area. #14 Sicuani area. #15 Tambobamba (Aurimac Province). #16 Huancayo, Juliaca, Puno, Cuzco, Taquile older men's caps, Island of the Sun. #17 Huancané, Juliaca, Puno region. #18 Puno region to south Lake Titicaca. #19 Huancané. #20 Chucuito, Yunguyo, Illave, southwestern edge of Lake Titicaca. #21 Taquile Island. #22 Taquile Island. #23 Taquile and Amantani Islands. #24 Acora and southwestern edge of lake.

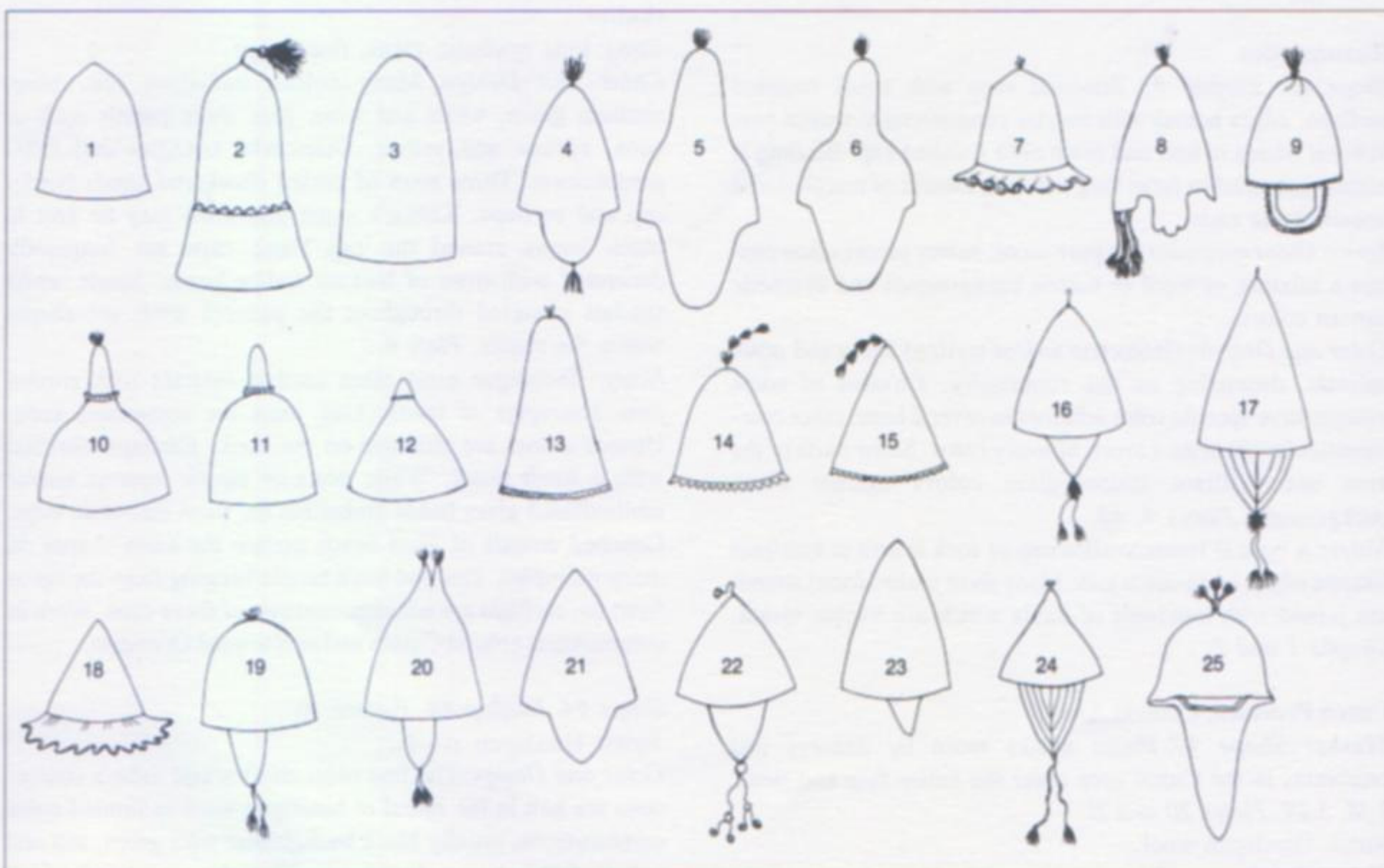
clear-cut as it once was. In response to the pressure for modern dress, antique pieces may be sold. Family members who created and valued handmade textiles may be deceased. Knitters often decide to combine colors and patterns from his or her home village with designs from a new area, creating an eccentric and personal style. Caps and other textiles are sometimes traded, confusing their origins. In Bolivia, for example, the llama herders from parts of Oruro and Potosí provinces barter or sell their caps to boys in other regions as they pass through with trade goods. For example, a boy from Macha may trade his ch'ullu to a Tarabuco boy whose costume does not traditionally include a knit cap.

Highlanders occasionally bring antique knit or woven pieces to sell in large central towns such as La Paz and Cuzco. These fine textiles appear for sale in folk art shops, in the markets and in street stalls. But once they are removed from their cultural context, determining the exact provenance and significance of the textiles is not easy. A vendor may not know or care

about the origins of the item. On the other hand, there are a few interested shop owners who, because of their frequent contact with native artisans, possess a wealth of information and share it willingly. It is possible to buy unidentified knit treasures and eventually to identify them by questioning numerous villagers and/or by comparing them with pieces encountered during research.

The following section contains specific information about the regional design characteristics of important knitting areas in Peru and Bolivia. Descriptions are given from the north of Peru southward into central Bolivia. Working with the limitations mentioned above, I have been as precise as possible in my identification, relying on my fieldwork and field informants in the Andes, and on my research in museums and private collections here and abroad. Shape numbers refer to the drawing below. Earflap numbers refer to the descriptions on pages 82-85. Photos of specific examples appearing elsewhere in the text are referred to for more detailed information.

Bolivia



5:G Bolivian cap shapes. #1 East Lake Titicaca, Ulla Ulla, La Paz Department; and Bolivar region, Cochabamba Department. #2 Ayata region, La Paz Department. #3 La Paz Department. #4 Copacabana, Lake Titicaca islands, Huatajata, La Paz region. #5 Achahachi, Huatajata and other lakeside areas. #6 Huatajata, La Paz Department. #7 La Paz Department. #8 La Paz Department. #9 City of La Paz region. #10 Calamarca, Sica Sica, Aroma Province, La Paz Department. #11 Calamarca, Sica Sica, Aroma Province, La Paz Department. #12 Calamarca, Aroma Province, La Paz Department. #13 La Paz Department, southern lakeshore or Pacajes Province? #14 Leque, Cochabamba Department. #15 Challa, Cochabamba Department. #16 Oruro Department, Bustillos and various provinces of northern Potosí Department. #17 CalaCala, northern Potosí Department. #18 Llallagua, northern Potosí Department. #19 Chayanta, northern Potosí Department. #20 northern Potosí Department. #21 Cochabamba Department, Oruro Department. #22 Oruro Department, northern Potosí Department. #23 Macha, northern Potosí Department. #24 Chipaya, Oruro Department. #25 Tarabuco, Chuquisaca Department (crocheted).

Peru

Some cap shapes such as #s 12, 14 and 15 are distinctive. Others are worn in many regions in many different color and design variations. A few common shapes, such as #s 8, 16 and 17 are widespread enough to be called classic forms. The Cuzco area in particular is rich in knit textile heritage.

Huancayo

Masks: Shape #1. Head and face-shaped coverings, ski-mask style, with openings for eyes, nose and mouth. Used for fiestas and special celebrations. 3:28.

Yarns: Wools.

Color and Design: Solid colors with several contrasting accent colors. Loosely knit in the round in stockinette stitch from top of head to ribbed band at neck. Increases and decreases shape facial contours, chin and neck. Nose is knit three-dimensionally and is open at the bottom. Decoration is simple, usually limited to stripes at neck and chain stitch embroidery with contrasting yarn delineating features.

Caps: Shape #16. This cap style has become rare in recent years. Examples 15 to 30 years old have wide stripes, earflaps, chin straps and small visors. Men currently wear a variety of commercial caps or knitted and crocheted ch'ullus with motifs and colors in common with other regions.

Notes: Fine crocheted caps of alpaca and wool in natural tones used to be made in this area.

Huancavelica

Shape #2. Earflap #1 Rounded caps with small rounded earflaps; edges bound with acrylic commercially-woven bias binding folded in half and sewn onto finished cap. Binding is usually extended to form long ties with masses of multicolored tassels at the ends.

Yarns: Older examples are pure wool; newer pieces often contain a mixture of wool or cotton backgrounds and synthetic pattern colors.

Color and Design: Geometric and/or stylized foxes and other animals, depending on the community. Ch'ullus of some villages have specific color schemes in several hues; other communities incorporate a touch of every color. Some parts of the area use brilliant stained-glass colors against black backgrounds. Plates 4, 40.

Notes: A typical Huancavelica cap or sock is knit in knit/purl intarsia with a seam-stitch join. Many short multicolored strands are joined with hundreds of knots which are visible inside. Graphs 1 and 2.

Cuzco Province, Central Area

Masks: Shape #7. Fiesta masks worn by dancers and celebrants in the Cuzco area cover the entire face and head. 2:18, 3:29, Plates 20 and 21.

Yarns: Handspun wool.

Color and Design: Faces are generally dark brown; head and neck parts are ecru, with diamonds or starflowers in bright colors decorating cheeks and forehead. Stockinette stitch worked from top of head down to ribbed neck. Face, chin and neck contours shaped by increasing and decreasing. Rows of garter stitch add texture to forehead and chin. Eyes, nose and mouth have colorful woolen chain-stitch outlines.

Caps: Shapes #s 3-10. Earflap #s 2, 3, 4, 7. Pointed caps

with triangular or rounded earflaps. 3:13, 5:4.

Yarns: Older models wool; now synthetic.

Color and Design: Numerous variations in motifs, color combinations and embellishment, depending on village and community. Diamonds are the most common design unit; triangles, double triangles forming diamonds, OXO motifs, and animal motifs are also present.

Cuzco Vicinity

Shape #5.

Yarns: Handspun and commercial wool.

Color and Design: Red and white colorways in stairstep patterns are typical; accent touches of green or blue. Couched strands of white glass beads often embellish caps and ties. Woven bands used as decorative ties may incorporate tiny glass beads at selvages. 2:8.

Notes: Also Huilloc, Huacahuasi and Ollantaytambo areas.

Chinchero

Shape #6. Rounded caps with long tails and deeply scalloped edging. No longer made. Plate 5:1.

Yarns: Handspun wool.

Ccatca (Qatq'a) Region

Shape #9. Earflap #4. Wide, shallow earflaps, intricate geometric patterning, fine gauge, bicolor purled edging and fine rickrack-like puntas distinguish contemporary Ccatca chullus.

Yarns: Fine synthetic yarns, fine gauge.

Color and Design: Many colors including red, blue, medium green, white and wine, plus some pastels such as aqua, apricot and yellow. Diamonds, triangles and OXO predominate. Three rows of purled checkered bands border cap and earflaps. Knitter's name and town may be knit in block letters around the cap. These caps are frequently decorated with rows of buttons and/or beads. Single white stitches scattered throughout the patterns form sub-shapes within the motifs. Plate 4.

Notes: Technique most often used is *intarsia with corded join*. Examples of interlocking joins are sometimes seen. Unused colors are stranded on the back. Earflaps trimmed with a small tassel. White pearl or plastic buttons and/or multicolored glass beads embellish the most elaborate caps. Couched strands of glass beads outline the main shapes on many examples. Ties and large tassels hanging from the tip or from the earflaps are not characteristic of these caps. Worn in communities around Ccatca and east toward Ocongate.

Shape #4. Earflap #4. Pattern 10.

Yarns: Handspun wools.

Color and Design: The fine older ch'ullus and today's coarser ones are knit in the round of handspun wool in limited color combinations, usually black background with green, red and yellow OXO diamond patterns. They have wide, rounded earflaps which almost meet at the forehead.

Notes: Old style child's cap has been made for at least 50 years. 2:15. Coarser, simpler versions of similar caps attributed to Ccatca are now common in the Cuzco market. Perhaps made exclusively for the tourist trade; only children seem to wear this style. Some men and boys from Ccatca wear finely-crocheted caps with large, bold designs; colorful parrots, rabbits, butterflies, stars and flowers.

Urcos to Ocongate Highlands,

Shapes #4 & 8. Earflaps #2 & 4. Peaked caps similar to Ccatca caps above, but earflaps narrower and more pointed.
Color and Design: Intricate geometric designs, triangular earflaps knit separately and sewn on. Tiny fine bicolor punta edging may be integral, or made separately and handstitched on, especially around earflaps. Fancy woven ties or strands of beads hanging from earflaps, and masses of large multi-colored tassels usually adorn these caps, especially at fiestas. Sequins and metallic silver rickrack embellish some caps.
2:10, 2:11, 5:17.

Notes: The same type of button-decorated ch'ullu has been worn in the Urcos to Ocongate area for 60 years; the glass beads or piñes are a recent addition.

HuaraHuara Area

Shape #8. Earflap #2

Notes: HuaraHuara ch'ullus are similar to those described above, but have fewer tassels and arrowhead-shaped designs reminiscent of native North American designs on the earflaps.

Marcapata Area

Shape #11. Earflap #2. Pointed caps with large earflaps and multicolored tassels.

Color and Design: Surface solidly patterned with tiny ($\frac{1}{8}$ ") diamonds in medium and dark tones of every hue. Few pastel yarns are used in this area. White is carried throughout, ticking the edges of each shape, but is never used for two consecutive pattern stitches; the overall effect is of dark colors and rich patterns. Bands with knitters name, village and date of birth, age or date of the knitting project are sometimes incorporated.

Quiquijana/Ausangate Area

Shapes #4 & 8. Earflap #2 with squared bottom.

Color and Design: Small multicolored triangular and diamond shapes. Picot edging is used, but no elaborate tassels or embellishment. Caps from this area often have white plastic buttons sewn in rows to outline design shapes.

Notes: A golden brown felt hat with handwoven hatband of bold animal designs may be worn atop the ch'ullu. *1:1, 4:1.*

Rachqui/Tinta Area

Shape #13. Earflap #5 or 6, rounded Long caps with rounded earflaps, and small multicolored pattern elements. Have been worn in Checacupe for 50 years.

Paucartambo

Shapes #4 & 9. Earflap #4.

Color and Design: Similar to caps from Ccatca, but often have more than three rows of checkers around the bottom and earflaps. *2:6.*

Notes: Button and rickrack-decorated jackets, knee-length pants and a flat montera were worn with this ch'ullu 60 years ago, as documented in photos by Martín Chambí.

Q'ero

Shape #10 Earflap #2 variation. Children's caps are rounded with triangular earflaps edged with reverse scallops.

Yarns: Dark brown handspun wool; medium gauge.

Color and Design: Simple and striking large ecru or gold

zigzags form diamond shapes. Some caps have a visor-like ruffle in front, bound off in a bright color.

Sicuani/Tinta

Shape #14. Earflap #8. Caps with narrow, elongated tops. Decorative points added in garter stitch to edge cap and earflaps.

Yarns: Originally knit in handspun wool in medium gauge.

Color and Design: Pattern bands of 2 rows of multicolored birds with outspread wings on red or wine grounds, plus bands of small multicolored geometric motifs. *Plate 6.*

Notes: Women today knit coarse Sicuani-style caps out of bulky handspun wool yarn for the Cuzco tourist market.

Pitumarca area

Shapes #12 & 13. Earflaps #5 & 6. Unusual shape consisting of small rounded earflaps and a long narrow top or "tail."

Yarns: Handspun alpaca and/or sheep's wool. Fine gauge.

Color and Design: Motifs vary with the community. Tops are often patterned with rows of interlocking waves. Old caps have very fine gauge, unusual and intricate designs. All examples studied have tiny puntas and very small earflaps; the oldest caps seem to have the smallest flaps, about 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches across. Details, *Plates 6, 35, 46. Graph 4.*

Notes: Technique is knit/purl intarsia with either corded or knitted join. An occasional example is found in patterned circular knitting. Caps are not presently worn daily in Pitumarca. Some relatively coarse models are made for tourists and sold in Cuzco. There are examples of old "popcorn stitch" caps which probably originated in the Tinta-Pitumarca-Checacupe area. These may have been made for children. One Pitumarca cap has a horse motif, *Graph 4, top row*, that is almost identical to horses on a woven bag. (Rowe, 1977, page 51.) This is an excellent example of similarities between weaving and knitting iconography.

I discovered a cap from Pitumarca with an unusual surface texture created by singeing the surface, probably with a candle flame. Fine wool fuzz completely obscured the intricate pattern inside the cap. Burning the fuzzy hairs off the outside surface revealed clear patterns and colors.

Tambobamba, Apurimac Province

Shape #15. Simple, rounded shape, no earflaps.

Yarns: Fine handspun wool, medium to fine gauge.

Color and Design: Dark blue, red, green, ecru, with checkered border. Abstract designs in ecru on bicolor bands.

Notes: A special cast-on method leaves a neat, braided look around the edge. Knit from bottom edge to rounded top.

Huancané, Puno Province

Shape #18. Ruffled bonnets; no earflaps. *Plate 1, cap 6; Pattern 4.*

Yarns: Natural handspun sheep's wool or alpaca, relatively coarse gauge.

Color and Design: Natural colors, browns, greys, black and ecru, sometimes with dyed wool patterning. Pattern bands of chevrons, birds and leaf shapes. An ecru eyelet stitch ruffle encircles bottom edge. Short lengths of multicolored yarn often bind off and brighten the ruffle.

Notes: Huancané bonnets were seen on every little girl in town in 1971, but were scarce by 1986.

Shapes #16 & 17. Most men of Huancané do not wear knit caps now. Various multicolored caps of mixed origins, often in styles typical of nearby Juliaca-Puno area may be worn.

Taquile Island (Lake Titicaca)

Shapes # 21 & 22. Long, slightly rounded, very finely knit caps, usually without earflaps. 2:15.

Yarns: Formerly fine wool; today some synthetic yarns are used for bright accent colors, sometimes for the entire cap.

Color and Designs: Carmine or deep wine-red and white, with accents of navy, royal blue, green and hot pink. Traditional designs combined with innovative pictorial motifs, reflecting facets of island life. Originally, motifs were abstract symbols for events such as marriage and fiestas, as well as stylized birds and crop plants such as barley and maize. Today, these are interspersed with cows, butterflies, ducks and houses. *Graph 5.*

Notes: Colors are significant for the islanders. For example, white and yellow butterflies are good luck; black and grey are bad luck. Knit bags made for tourists in various shapes and sizes have the same motifs, colors and materials as the caps. *See page 14* for detailed costume description.

Shape #23. Ruffled bonnets with white tops and carmine design bands.

Amantani Island (Lake Titicaca)

Shape #23. Ruffled bonnets worn by young girls are of the same shape as those on Taquile Island. 5:18.

Yarns: Fine wools and acrylics.

Color and Design: Plain brown or ecru tops, lower part striped with many rainbow-colored lines or banded with motifs similar to Taquile Island. Ribbed ruffle is knit separately and sewn on by hand.

Notes: Knit bags with similar colors are also made here. *Pattern 1.* 7:1.

Chucuito, Acora and western lakeshore

Shapes #23 & 24. Long pointed caps or bonnets with ribbed ruffles around lower edge. *Pattern 5.*

Yarns: Fine wools and acrylics.

Color and Design: Brown, white or other colors with some colored stripes, and multicolored relief designs in crocheted or knitted popcorn stitches.

Notes: Girls from villages on the southwestern side of Lake Titicaca in the Chucuito-Illave-Yunguyo area wear these bonnets with the ruffle in front to protect the face.



Bolivia

East Lake Titicaca Region, Franz Tamayo, LaPaz Department

Shape #1. Woolen caps without earflaps, with bands of ikat designs. 6:9.

Yarns: Handspun wools, fine gauge.

Color and Design: Bands of blue and white ikat patterned yarn alternate with bands of green and gold ikat resulting from overdyeing with yellow. *See page 64.*

Notes: Unfortunately, these beautiful ikat ch'ullus are rare and little is known about them. A provenance has not been

documented. They may be from the UllaUlla area, east of Lake Titicaca, as it is one of the few places in Bolivia where the ikat technique is used.

Ayata Area, Muñecas, Lapaz Department

Shape #2. Very long, thick caps with deep turned-back cuffs.

Yarns: Handspun wool, medium-coarse gauge.

Color and Design: Colorful geometrics accent black & white patterning. Stairstep diamond pattern bands bordered by rows of checkers and sawtooth points. Center-decrease puntas edge cuff. Area under cuff is unpatterned.

Notes: Women in this area used to make and wear these festive caps.

Eastern Lake Titicaca, Camacho, LaPaz Department

Shape #3. Tall, rounded woolen caps without earflaps, embellished with knit-in beaded designs. 3:9, *Plate 8, #8.*

Yarns: Commercial wools, medium-fine gauge.

Color and Design: Knit from bottom toward rounded top. Decorated with white and multicolored seed beads. Intricate beaded motifs formed using the technique of *bead knitting*, (Thomas, 1938, p. 137-140).

Notes: Worn by women, perhaps in the eastern Lake Titicaca (Escoma) area for fiestas and other special occasions. Examples of these festival caps are rare and those examined appear to be at least 40 or 50 years old. (The term "beaded" is used here for any piece with beads incorporated during the process of knitting [done mainly in Bolivia] or with beads sewn on individually, or in strands couched down afterwards, [done mainly in Peru].)

Achahachi Area, Omasuyos, LaPaz Department

Shapes #4 & 5. Earflap #11. Colorfully patterned caps with earflaps.

Yarns: Synthetics, medium gauge.

Color and Design: Mostly geometric, multicolored.

Notes: The caps worn in the provinces of Camacho, Muñecas, Saavedra and Omasuyos warrant further study. For instance, a local schoolteacher told me that in the village of Pongonhuyo, several hours' walk from Achacachi, boys make caps with their names, villages and dates knitted in.

Huatajata Area, Omasuyos, LaPaz Department

Shapes #5 & 6. Earflap #11. Long, solid-color caps with or without large rounded earflaps, embellished with *knit-in* beaded designs. *Plate 8, #s 3, 4, 7; Detail, Plate 47.*

Yarns: Handspun or commercial wools, fine gauge.

Color and Design: Solid tones (red or dark green) with or without rainbow striping. Method of knitting in beads is identical to preceding example.

Notes: Earflaps are knit from stitches picked up at edge, and worked in garter stitch which places beads perpendicular to knitted rows (beaded knitting). Men in villages around the southern end of Lake Titicaca wear these beaded chullus. Newer models from the area have geometric designs in white beads and rows of rainbow striping. In the past, caps of shape #5 were worn by men on the southwestern shores of the lake, as far north as Puno. *Plate 8, cap 5.*

Shape #4. Earflap #9. Shorter style without beaded patterning; sometimes with beaded edging. *Plate 8, cap 9.*

Yarns: Handspun or commercial wools or acrylics.

Color and Design: Some are monochromatic with rows of

purl or garter stitch textural accents; others are solid color with rows of contrasting stripes.

Notes: Worn by older men in Copacabana (Manco Kapac Province) and other southern lake villages. Solid colors (usually dark red) ch'ullus are worn by some older men on Taquile Island.

In Huarina and outlying communities, men wear various acrylic caps with rows of waves and rainbow stripes bordering a band of dancers. Earflaps have garter stitch borders. *Pattern 9.* This is a common cap, similar to those worn by some of the older men in the LaPaz area, see *La Paz Vicinity, below.*

Shapes #4 or #5. Common shape made in many pattern and color variations. On the Island of the Sun, near Copacabana, men wear distinctive caps typically adorned with bull motifs. The bovine shapes from this area have two "seeds" or oval symbols within them. *Back cover.* Bull motif caps are also worn in the Yanahuaya area (Muñecas Province) northeast of LaPaz as well as in other lakeshore and island villages.

La Paz Department, perhaps southern lakeshore area or Pacajes Province

Shape #13. Long bonnets without earflaps; colorful motifs overlaid with matching colored glass seed beads.

Yarns: Commercial wools, medium-fine gauge.

Color and Design: Typical colors are hot pink with blue, green and white motifs brightened with matching knit-in glass beads. Knit from the bottom and shaped with even decreases toward the top. Bands of contrasting shaded stripes brighten tip and bottom edge. Multicolored puntas chained in white cotton, with a bead at each point, add a delicate feminine touch. *7:G.*

Notes: The exact provenance has not been documented. Young girls wore these pretty bonnets for festivals and celebrations.

Shape #6. Style and colors of shape #13 above, but with earflaps. *Plate 8, Plate 18.*

Notes: From the same locale (unknown). Presumed to be men's caps because of the earflaps.

LaPaz Area to Murillo/Ingavi, LaPaz

Shape #7 (girl's) or #4 (boy's). Children's caps with knit "popcorn" stitch decorations and knit-in patterning. *Pattern 8.* Girls caps are ruffled. Boys' caps have earflaps and a point at the forehead.

Yarns: Wool or acrylic; coarse gauge of about 15 stitches per 2 inches.

Color and Design: Bright motifs on a dark field. Wave designs and popcorn stitches forming diamonds or boys and girls holding hands are common motifs. For girls' bonnets, white ruffles are knit from base of the cap and flared with eyelet increases. Ruffles are bound off with contrasting yarn.

La Paz Vicinity

Shape #8. Earflap #13. Contemporary children's caps with long yarn braids, called *colitas* or little tails, attached to a rounded flap at the back of the neck.

Yarns: Synthetic yarns; medium gauge.

Color and Design: Earflaps are an unusual shape with 3 lobes, the central one always in a different color. Antique

versions, with braids, were stockinette stitch in colorful wool, or lace knitting in fine cotton with glass beads. *6:10.*

Notes: Now made by schoolchildren in LaPaz, these caps have simple decorations embroidered in a loose stem stitch.

Shapes #4 & #9.

Yarn: Commercial wool or synthetic, medium gauge.

Color and Design: In villages around the city of LaPaz, some men and male infants wear these caps which have one band of simple motifs of people or dancers holding hands. *Pattern 9.* This is a popular cap design, a generic style found in many places, even in Peru. Often the knitter's name and/or village is worked into the design above the pattern band. The earflaps are often composed of multicolored squares in garter stitch.

Notes: Louis Girault shows a Charzani villager wearing one of these caps. (Girault, 1969, p.17.) The Musée de l'Homme collection (Paris) includes one with two rows of rainbow squares on the earflaps, collected in 1908.

Calamarca Area, Aroma, LaPaz Department

Shapes #10, 11 & 12. Rounded caps without earflaps. Topped by a tail of varying length, from a little triangular peak to a four-inch projection.

Yarns: Finely handspun alpaca or wool; fine gauge averaging 38 stitches per 2 inches

Color and Design: Pattern motifs in natural white on striped backgrounds and a row of tiny multicolored puntas where 'tail' meets base of cap. Edging of two rows of multicolored checkers. *3:4, 3:6, 3:10, Plate 10, Pattern 4.* Two rows of multicolored checkers edge the caps.

Notes: The distinctive shapes, motifs and colors of Calamarca ch'ullus make them easy to recognize, but there is a great range of design styles among chullus from proximate communities, and from different time periods. Certain configurations such as the Tiahuanaco gateway, (*3:4*) and the multiple-viewpoint bovine form are not found on chullus elsewhere. *Graphs 6 & 7.* Motifs were customarily knit in natural white on a striped field.

The aesthetics of Calamarca ch'ullus have undergone interesting changes over the years. Larger animal motifs, often with smaller ones inside, in a less orderly arrangement (some upside down) typify late 19th-century chullus. *3:4, 3:6.* Iconography on caps made between approx. 1950-75 has orderly placement, shows greater variety and often more detail. Motifs in caps of this period are neatly arranged right-side-up in rows separated by narrow pattern bands. The ground behind the figures is still striped, often in subtle tones of burgundy, sage green and rust.

Puntas edge the *bottom* of caps in many other areas, but a punta row found near the top is rare, seen only on ch'ullus here and in the SicaSica area. The two sections delineated by the punta row are knit in different directions. The base is knit from the puntas down to the final checkered band; the top is picked-up at the puntas and worked up to the tip. Alternatively and less commonly, the top section is knit separately and sewn onto the base. *3:4, 3:7.*

Shape #12.

Yarns: Fine handspun wool, fine gauge.

Color and Design: Some early 20th century Calamarca examples have tiny white birds and circle motifs on red,

orange and coral stripes. Dark purple lines separate the bright stripes, uniting and toning down the flaming colors. Motifs are not confined within the stripes or bands but cross them randomly. Occasionally these caps had white tops. 3:6. *Notes:* The older knit caps often show less variety in motifs. Common early motifs were birds with wings outstretched or with two heads, stylized horses or llamas, bulls, simple plant shapes, scroll/waves and the six-part circle or flower. The cows or bulls are unusual; heads and horns are depicted from the top and bodies from the side. The Tiahuanaco gateway, horses with riders, and the Inca-sun motif are more recent knitted motifs, although used earlier on woven pieces. 3:4, 3:5. To my knowledge, traditional ch'ullus are no longer made in the Calamarca area.

Sica Sica Region, Aroma Province; La Paz Department
Shapes #10 & 11. Rounded caps without earflaps, with a top projection.

Yarns: Handspun wool, medium gauge.

Color and Design: Some Aroma province ch'ullus have the narrow wavy lines of two-tone half-circles which Adelson and Tracht (1983) note as typical of woven pieces from the SicaSica area, south of Calamarca. *Plate 10.* Motifs are birds, plants and sun which appear on Calamarca woven textiles.

Notes: Antique knitting of this area warrants further research, provided more examples can be found. 3:10.

Bolivar Area, Arque, Cochabamba Department

Shape #1. Caps without earflaps.

Yarns: Handspun wool; medium gauge.

Color and Design: Soft tones of red, ecru, gold and dark grey. Patterned with florid geometrics.

Notes: These caps are no longer made. One is shown in Roberto Gerstman's book, *Bolivia*, published in 1928. 3:14.

Leque Area, Tapacari Province, Cochabamba Department

Shape # 14 or 21. Rounded caps with punta edging. *Plate 10. Pattern 4.* Boys' versions have earflaps.

Yarns: Handspun wool; medium coarse gauge.

Color and Design: Soft red, deep pink, golden brown and ecru; touches of purple and black accent some caps. Animal motifs such as dogs, horses and birds appear in rows in two or three alternating colors on a solid band. A narrower pattern band and contrasting stripes separate the strings of motifs. All colors are carried loosely, adding to the insulating properties. Border is a row of garter stitch checkers and multicolored puntas.

Notes: Mothers knit these caps for their children. Pink dyed tufts of unspun wool at sides and top identify baby girls. A deep pink wool tuft or a string of three or four tassels usually decorates little boys' ch'ullus. The warm colors and animal figures of the caps match those of the women's finely-woven belts. Ch'ullus are not seen today on Leque men. Some men wear dark, solid-color crocheted caps. Villagers in Leque told me they used to wear much more *ropa typica*, ethnic or traditional clothing, before missionaries arrived and discouraged dancing and fiestas.

Challa area, Tapacari Province, Cochabamba Department

Shape #15. Pointed caps without earflaps, with finely

scalloped edging.

Yarns: Handspun wool; medium gauge.

Color and Design: Traditional Challa caps have very distinctive colors — pink, deep burgundy, gold and soft red — and specific geometric motifs such as diamonds and a meandering zigzag strip. 3:10. *Graph 10.* The color combinations and edgings are similar to caps from the nearby Leque area.

Notes: These caps are still worn by some men in communities scattered around the Challa area; other men wear chullus traded from different areas. 2:1.

Oruro area, Cercado and Dalence Provinces, Oruro Department

Shape # 21; less often, #16. Earflap #2 (without scallops).

Pointed caps with earflaps knit as an integral part of the cap.

Yarns: Wools, fine gauge.

Color and Design: Bright colors and bold motifs such as eight-petaled flowers, condors and other birds, cats, monstrous creatures, and various geometric configurations. Most earflaps are knit on two needles from stitches picked up on cap. Often cap and earflap edges are bound with a tubular woven edging, *ribete*, either in a solid color or in a colorful *kenko* snake-pattern. (Cason & Cahlander, 1976.) 5:10, 7:4. While ribetes commonly bind the edges of woven pieces, they are rare as ch'ullu bindings.

Sacaca, Ibañez Province, Potosí Department

Shape #16 or 22.

Yarns: Acrylics.

Color and Design: Large floral designs in bright colors were once popular in Sacaca. Elayne Zorn, who has done field work in Sacaca, reports that the new style, developed in the late 1980s, is characterized by bands of bright colors (especially lime green and hot pink), and repeated images, including bicycles. *Plate 23.*

Notes: In the Sacaca community, women knit the ch'ullus (called ch'ulus) and also weave. It is not surprising that the new knitting color combinations and motifs also crop up in the recent weavings. (Zorn, correspondence, 1990.)

LLallagua/CalaCala/Laymi Region, Bustillos, Ibanez and Charcas Provinces, Potosí Department

Shapes #16, 17 & 22. Pointed caps with triangular earflaps. *Plates 16, 23. Shape 17* shows style that teenagers knit and wear straight up to show off at Fiestas. *Plate 32.*

Yarns: Early models knit in handspun natural dark brown and white wool or alpaca; medium gauge. Now made in fine synthetics; fine gauge. After 5 or 10 years, the synthetics fade and soften, giving the appearance of cotton.

Color and Design: Contemporary ch'ullus have brighter colors, more intricate motifs, finer gauge, larger earflaps and are taller than older models. Oldsters continue to wear old-style ch'ullus in natural tones. Knitters now favor synthetic yarns in saturated colors — crimson, turquoise, royal blue, cerise, golden yellow and green — with white to brighten and accent. Small amounts of dark tones like navy and wine may be incorporated. Black and pastels are not used. Caps are knit in the round, with unused colors woven or twisted into every stitch. Solid-color bands are usually worked with 2 strands and the weaving technique to match the density. Today, knitters employ a greater variety of

motifs, although many old ones are still used. Iconography can be representational, geometric, or both, depending on the style specific to each village. For instance, caps from the village of Lagunillas, where there is a small lake, have wave/scroll designs, among other regional motifs. 5:19. Intricate configurations in horizontal bands of squares, or *tocapus*, characterize the most common contemporary work. 4:10, 5:1, *Plate 39*. Sections of striped backgrounds and solid-color motifs may alternate with striped motifs on solid grounds. *Plate 43*. Fine stripes and/or pointed rickrack motifs in 2 or more colors separate horizontal bands of patterns. *Graph 12*.

In another design arrangement from this region, diagonal lines composed of scrolls or leafy trellises intersect the field, forming diamonds. These diamonds enclose star, flower or bird motifs. 5:20. *Detail, Plate 39*. A horizontally-striped background may underlie the design. Within diamonds or *tocapus*, bird motifs appear in an imaginative variety of positions. The eagle and condor are often used with wings spread symmetrically, head and clawed feet turned to one side. Quadripeds resembling dogs, cats, deer, viscacha, and insects such as ants and spiders, may alternate with birds and geometric shapes. 5:C. *Graph 13*. A popular motif is the *Inti*, or sun symbol which has a central rhombus. Circles, hexagons divided into six parts, and eight-pointed stars are also common geometric motifs. Caps are embellished with plaited or woven ties. The woven ties are miniature versions of men's woven belts. Pompoms hang from some ties, others have hard, tightly-wrapped balls of yarn, *taca-taca*, ½ inch in diameter, chainstitched with multicolored designs hanging from the ends of cap ties. *Plate 12, #6; Plate 18*. Finishing tasks of plaiting or weaving ties and making pompoms may be relegated to women.

Notes: Contemporary *ch'ullus* are made of fine acrylic with very fine needles, producing more intricate motifs and a finer gauge than earlier work!

Shape #21, Earflap #2.

Yarns: Acrylics, fine to medium gauge.

Color and Design: Festival caps with solid ground and bold multicolored figures, mostly animals. Extra-special caps have different color combinations on each half. *Plate 12*.

Notes: Knit and worn to fiestas by young boys from nearby areas. Many have whimsical and amusing designs. 5:C, 4:9. With few exceptions, (Sacaca is one), in northern Potosí Department, men take pride in knitting their own *ch'ullus*. Occasionally caps are knit by wives or sisters, purchased from a knitter known to be an excellent craftsman. The overall quality and excellent craftsmanship of the knitting here is as good or better than in earlier times.

Shape #18. Little girls' bonnets with ruffle all around.

Yarns: Acrylics; medium-fine gauge.

Color and Design: Motifs and colors like those of men's caps above. Ruffles for girls' bonnets are usually white, bound off in bright colors. Mothers frequently add crocheted yarn ties to fasten bonnets under the chin.

Chayanta Area, Central Bustillos Province, Potosí Department

Shape #19 & 20. Earflap #18 & 19. Rounded or pointed

caps with long narrow garter stitch earflaps.

Yarns: Finely handspun wool and alpaca; fine gauge.

Color and Design: Old style: orange, wine-red, bright pink and ecru predominate. Purple, green, and brown accent some of these fine caps. On many, the reds, pinks and oranges have bled and ecru areas appear pinkish-tan or apricot. Stripes and lines separate pattern bands. Blocky animal motifs arranged in rows are typical motifs of the Chayanta region, as are eight-pointed stars and birds with outstretched wings and feather detail. *Graph 18*. Caps edged with one row of garter stitch checkers. Earflaps may have several motifs, including a dancer called a *chuncho*.

Notes: These *ch'ullus* are unusual and no longer made. Said to be from the area around the town of Chayanta, they are at least 30 to 40 years old. A two-pointed alpaca cap also appears to be from this area. *Plate 10, cap 6*.

Chayanta and Tomás Frías Provinces, Potosí Department

Shapes #16, 17, 20, 22 & 23. Pointed caps with triangular earflaps and intricate patterning. Plate 10.

Yarns: Wool or acrylic, very fine gauge.

Color and Design: Varies with the communities. New caps may be knit in day-glo colors such as lime green and shocking pink.

Macha Area, Potosí Department

*Shape #23. Older Macha *chullus*. Shape #16, more recent models. Earflap #15.*

Color and Design: Dark stylized flowers and geometrics including bird-like wedges. *Detail, Plate 38*. Traditionally, caps from the Macha area have checkered earflaps and black or dark brown backgrounds with stylized floral or geometric patterning in white and/or wine. Some have a touch of red or orange. The Macha flower shape is unique; one or two stitches connect upper and lower petals at the sides. *Graph 16*. Woven belts, *lliclas* and hatbands from Macha have similar motifs and are made in dark tones like the *ch'ullus*, subtly enhanced with bands of fine scrolls, diamonds and hexagons. Similar diamond-shaped flowers decorate some *chullus* from Ravelo. Men here wear small-brimmed felted wool hats over their *chullus*. 2:14. Men's costume is described on page 16.

Pocoata, Potosí Department

Shape #22. Caps with zigzag designs. 3:15. Similar patterning used in leggings. 3: 29.

Potolo Area, Oropeza, Chuquisaca Department and Eastern Chayanta Province, Potosí Department

Shape #16.

Yarns: Acrylic; fine gauge.

Color and Design: Dark ground, a "stem-leaf" (flowering vine) or flower-diamond motif. 4:2. *Graph #8*.

Tinquipaya, Tomas Frias, Potosí Department

Shape #16. Pointed caps with triangular earflaps.

Yarns: Acrylic; fine gauge.

Color and Design: All over geometric patterns, usually diamonds, as opposed to the stylized flower, animal and bird motifs of many of the textiles from northern Potosí department.



6:1 Young man from Challa, Bolivia, overspinning commercial yarn on a drop spindle.

The Materials of Andean Knitting



6:2 Francisco Marca Quispé of Taquile Island plying wool on a drop spindle.

Fibers

In Andean communities where fiber processing is still a part of daily life, children become familiar with textile-related tasks at a very early age. Little ones see how to sort, clean, spin and dye the wool while tagging along as their mothers do the daily chores. Five and six year-olds watch the flocks, shooing animals from one pasture to another. They watch their elders spinning and they play at learning to spin. With a bit of instruction from parents and grandparents both boys and girls become proficient spinners, producing fine even yarns by the time they are eight or ten years old.

Handspun Animal Fibers

Both sheep and camelid fibers are spun in the Andes. The camelids, alpaca and llama, are native to the Andes, and produce fiber technically called "hair" as opposed to the "wool" of sheep which were introduced by the Spaniards. Sheep are shorn annually; llamas at intervals of two to four years, yielding about 2.5 kilos, or 5.5 pounds of hair.

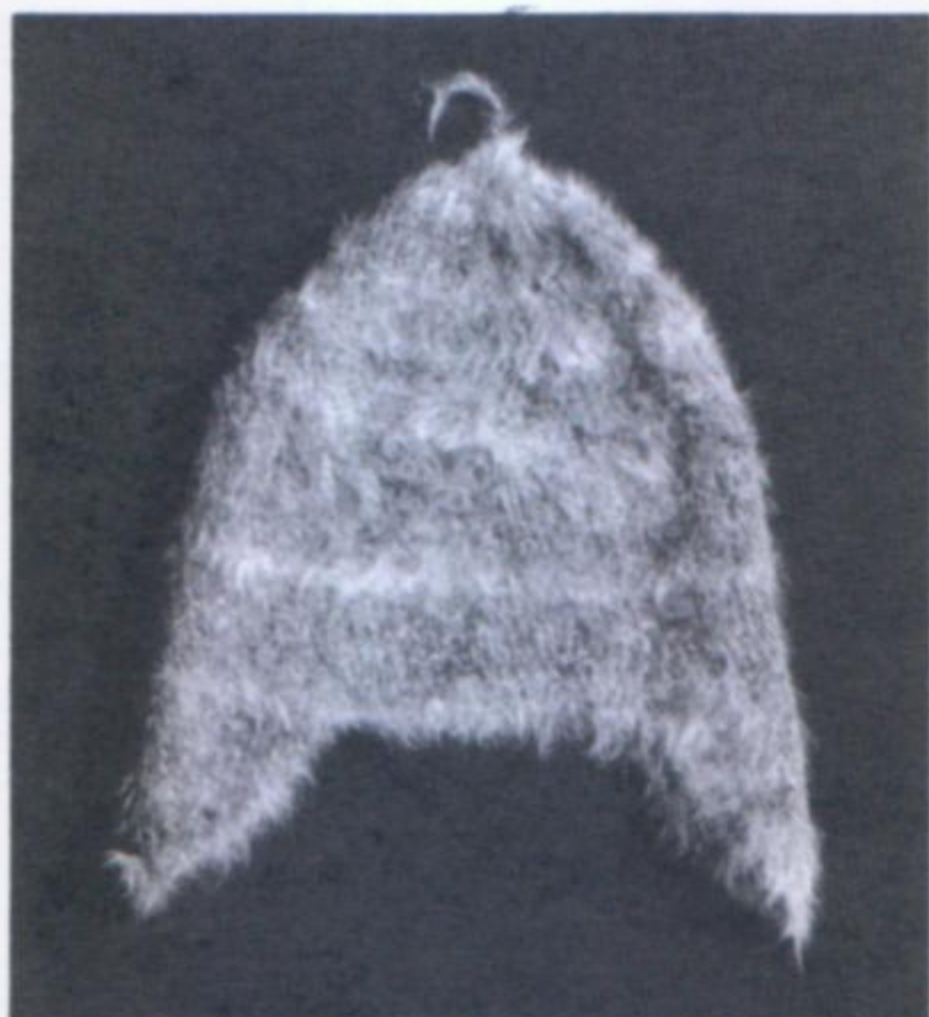
At shearing time, *chuhchanay* (Q.), alpacas look roly-poly, weighted down with the 5 to 7 kilos of hair grown in the past two or three years. Their thick, tangled coats often drag on the ground before

shearing. Both alpacas and llamas sport a variety of coat colors from pure white and pale tan to dark brown and jet black. Their coats may be one solid color, spattered with several colors, or piebald, like a pinto pony. 6:6.

During the annual fiesta of Santiago in July, llama and alpaca owners sew bright yarn tassels, *cintachi* (Q.) into their animals' ears. 1:A. These bits of unexpected color on the drab altiplano serve as fertility symbols, and help the herdsman to spot his animals. A bell often identifies the head male animal. The entire herd will follow him, enabling the shepherd, sometimes a child, to control the troop by guiding just the leader.

The fleet-footed vicuña, *wik'una* (Q.) (*Lama vicugna*), another native camelid, resembles a cross between a sturdy alpaca and a delicate deer. 6:8. The vicuña's golden tan coat, technically classified as wool, has an extremely soft and fine texture. In ancient Peru, vicuña garments were so prized that they were reserved for royalty.

The relative fineness of vicuña is apparent in a comparison of the various animal fibers. It has a fiber diameter ranging from 11 to 15 microns; alpaca ranges from 21 to 35 microns. Llama hair, a



6:3 Rabbit's fur baby cap bought in LaPaz, Bolivia. Origin unknown. Fur appears to be spun around or with alpaca. Below, 6:4 Vicuna baby cap from the Cuzco area, Peru, with stripes of colorful sheep's wool between the vicuna eyelet bands. Both caps from the collection of Jeff Appleby.



somewhat more rigid fiber, ranges from 20 to 36 microns. Sheep's wool ranges from about 17 to 41 microns. The age of the animal, the part of the fleece, and variations between the downy under-coat and the rougher overcoat account for the ranges of fiber diameter. (C. Lupton, correspondence, 1987.)

Because vicuña were never domesticated and it was usually necessary to kill the animal to shear it, they were nearly exterminated by the European and North American desire for fabrics of their silky



6:5 Fingerless gloves of green, black and golden tan silk and vicuña, with knit-in letters and circles, and eyelet-stitch tracery hearts and lattice. Amor Fino, or true love is declared on the backs; letters around the tops spell out Te Ofresco Mi Corazón, I offer you my heart. Late 19th century, Bolivia. Collection of Ann Moeller Nielsen; Denmark.

golden wool. During post-Colonial times, knit purses, mittens and baby caps of vicuña were popular among upper class women of the Cuzco, LaPaz and Potosí areas. 6:4, 6:5. Today articles made from vicuña wool are rarely seen for sale. It is illegal to hunt vicuña and they have recently made a comeback. They live freely on the puna brava in both Peru and Bolivia at altitudes up to 16,000 feet, and are protected and bred in several reserves in Peru. 6:8.

Nowadays Andean knitters use sheep's wool or alpaca when working with natural fibers. Wool's crimp, or kinkiness, and the scales on its fibers make it easier to spin than the smooth, curved fibers of alpaca. These same qualities also make it possible to differentiate the two fibers in textiles. It is difficult to discern the kind of natural fiber used in a knitted item of finely-spun yarn. There is usually a tail end of yarn inside that can be untwisted to check for the crimp of sheep's wool or the gently curving, more lustrous fibers of alpaca. It takes precise laboratory measurements to determine whether a fiber could be vicuña.

The coarser hair of adult llamas is commonly used to make scratchy blankets, strong rope, slings, and *costales*, heavy woven storage bags. Fine young llama hair is occasionally spun and can feel as soft as alpaca when knit or woven into garments.

Spinning Methods

Different parts of an animal's coat yield different qualities of fibers. The finest come from the neck and chest. Before spinning, the fleece, *millma* (Q.) is carefully picked over to remove clumps of matted fibers, twigs and burrs, then it is thoroughly washed in warm water. Next, it is carded with the fingers or a bunch of spiny teasel pods, *karkinchu* (Q.) tied together to arrange the fibers for spinning. The soft



6:6 A pack train of llamas bearing goods to barter enters a Bolivian village. The handwoven pack bags or *costales* and braided ropes are made of undyed llama hair in black, golden tan, brown and white.

hanks of prepared fibers, *tisana* (Q.) are wound around the left wrist or wrapped and bunched on a wooden distaff, *kawa* (Q.) to hold them while spinning. Spinners from Cajamarca use long (75cm) distaffs onto which they tie the fleece. The spinner often tucks the distaff under one arm or in his/her belt and works standing up. Charming horseshoe-shaped carved distaffs hold the fibers in the Huancavelica region. 6:A.

Highlanders in central and southern Peru and throughout Bolivia spin on a traditional drop spindle, *puchka* (Q.), *rueca* (S.). 6:7, 6:1. In the Cajamarca area and north into Ecuador, the spindle is supported, not dropped. (L. Meisch, correspondence, 1986.) The spindles are composed of a slender, sharpened stick 25-35 cm. long, with a weight or whorl at one end. The whorls are carved or turned wood, or clay. Raised scrolls and lines decorate the clay whorls which are formed by pressing soft clay into little molds. Many people fashion their own spindles; inexpensive ones are also available in the markets.

With either spinning method, the fibers are first drawn out, *suniyachiy* (Q.) and then twisted, *k'anti* (Q.) by the action of the whirling spindle to form the yarn, *k'aytu* (Q.). When the newly-formed thread becomes so long that the spindle drags, the spinner winds the length around the spindle. This action is called *k'aytuy* (Q.), and eventually forms a ball of yarn. Fine yarns for knitting and weaving are sometimes doubled and re-spun or plyed, on a larger spindle, *k'anti* (Q.) for strength and durability. (Quechua terms: L. Girault, 1969; L. Carpenter, correspondence, 1986.) Overspinning, or a final spinning until the strand twists back on itself, is often done to produce an even tighter, thinner yarn. Andean knitters and weavers often overspin commercial



6:A Hand-carved wooden distaff from Huancavelica, Peru.



6:7 Spinner at work on the steps of the Cuzco Plaza.



6:8 Vicuña on the Apolobamba Range, Bolivia. Photo by Loren McIntyre.

synthetic yarns to make them firmer. 6:1.

Spinning can be done by turning the spindle in either direction, producing either S-twisted or Z-twisted yarn. Plying is always done in the direction opposite to the original twist. Lynn Meisch clarified the usage of spinning twist terms in the Andes. She has noted that in areas where a drop spindle is used, *pañā* or right-spun yarn is Z-twist and S-ply, whereas *lluq'i*, left-spun yarn, is S-twist, Z-ply. However, from Cajamarca northward, where the spindle is supported, *pañā* is S-twist, Z-ply and *lluq'i* is Z-twist, S-ply, the opposite of terms in southern Peru and Bolivia.

In the Bolivian highlands, people sometimes tie a strand of *lluq'i* around their wrists or incorporate it into a weaving, believing that it brings good luck and protection from evil. The two kinds of yarn are frequently used in adjacent sections of the same weaving, giving a subtly different sheen to each section. S- and Z-twisted yarns were used together in some antique *ch'ullus* from the Bolivian altiplano. The Z-twist yarn gives a slightly different shape and surface to those stitches, producing a texture contrasting with the S-twist yarn.

Since a drop spindle can be manipulated while walking, highlanders, male and female, young and old, can be seen spinning as they hurry to market or follow their flocks on the altiplano. After spinning, yarns are usually wound into loose skeins and then dyed, *tullpuy* (Q.). In the Tarabuco region, the fibers are often dyed before spinning. This method was also used by the Incas.

Dyeing

In both Peru and Bolivia, with few exceptions the women do all of the dyeing. Many men told me frankly, "I spun the yarn and knit my *ch'ullu*, but my wife dyed the wool." However, anthropologist Bernard Mishkin tells of men in Quispicanchis, Peru, who are expert dyers, some known for their rich reds, others for their beautiful purples. (Mishkin, 1963.)

Whereas the Central Andean peoples once excelled at discovering and blending natural dyes, few use them today. Dyebaths made from leaves of indigo plants and walnut trees, cochineal insects, carbon or soot, and lichen, among other materials, still tint handspun wools in some areas. Both natural and commercial aniline dyes must be fixed or mordanted with alum or other substances, the mordant varying with the dye and the final color desired.

A resist-dye technique commonly known as *ikat*, is a common way of decorating woven cloth around the world, but knitting with ikat patterning is rare. The method involves binding sections of the warp or knitting yarns in specific patterns to resist dye and produce designs when knit or woven into cloth. In the Andes, ikat is called *watado* (*watay*, Q., to wrap or tie). Prehispanic peoples used ikat to pattern some of their weavings. The technique is still used in woven textiles in Calcha, Charzani and Tarabuco, Bolivia. I



6:9 Ikat-knit baby's cap, 7¼" x 7½". From Central Altiplano area, Bolivia, perhaps Camacho Province. Collection of Steve Berger. On this cap the ikat-patterned bands of blue and white squares were the result of tying a skein of white yarn and dipping once in blue dye. The blue-and white-yarn was re-dipped in gold dye to produce the alternating green and gold tones.

have seen only two Andean examples of ikat knitting. Plate 38 and 6:9. To make an ikat cap, the knitter/dyer must first determine the yardage needed for the desired design, then bind the pattern yarns tightly with string at regular intervals. Once the wool is dyed and dried, and the wrapping cords removed, white patches are revealed. Half of these dyed strands are saved for use as they are, the other half re-dipped, or overdyed, in a second color. Calculating the sections of yarn to dye for a knitted ikat design is more complex than figuring color placement for the straight warp lengths used in weaving — surely part of the reason that ikat-patterned knitting is so rare.

Aniline, or synthetic organic dyes have been in use to some extent in the highlands for the last 100 years, and have almost totally replaced the natural dyes. Andean knitters use the intense commercial dye colors, called *brillantes* (Sp.), to dye handspun sheep's wool. These clear dye colors are rarely mixed to obtain muted tones. Powdered dyes are available in bulk in every village market. Plate 31. Some dye merchants travel to remote communities with their wares while others have permanent stalls in city markets. In the La Paz street market, dye vendors post large charts with dots of bright sample colors. They wait behind a stunning array of jewel-tone powders in coffee cans, ready to spoon out a few pennies' worth of the desired shade onto a square of newspaper.

In the past, textile workers dyed alpaca with aniline dyes. Now it is unusual to find dyed alpaca in a knit piece less than 50 years old. Alpaca yarns are still used in their natural colors.

Until the mid-1970s when synthetic yarns became popular, home-dyed handspuns or commercially dyed wools were the only colored yarns used in traditional knitting. Aniline-dyed fibers usually have less subtlety and depth of color than those dyed with natural materials. Positive identification of the dyestuff used on a textile is impossible without chemical analysis of the fibers — unless one meets the creator of the piece in question. Aniline colors can fade, and when used in certain combinations, make the fibers brittle. An Illave, Bolivia, girl's ruffled cap of sheep's wool with a brown alpaca top, Plate 10, demonstrates the rainbow of 18 aniline hues available about twenty years ago.



6:10 Cap for a child knit in fine cotton with backflap and braids suggesting that it originated in the LaPaz vicinity. Peacock blue seed beads embellish the delicate openwork patterning. One of two lace bonnets collected for the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, in 1908. MH#08.24.257.

Commercial Wool and Cotton

Fine commercially-spun sheep's wool yarn was once available in many soft tones in the city markets, but is now impossible to find. Imported from Chile and Argentina, it was abundant during the sixties, but never used extensively for folk knitting, probably because of the expense. Occasionally one still finds ch'ullus and other articles knit from it; for example a red and white animal cap. *Plate 5, cap 7.*

Andean knitting done in cotton is rare. The antique examples that do exist show the influence of fashions and ideas brought from abroad by travelers and immigrants during the 18th and early 19th centuries. At that time, beaded knitting and fancy cotton lace "white knitting" were popular in England and Europe. A beautiful antique Bolivian example in white cotton illustrates the blend of influences of beaded knitting with the native ch'ullu shape with earflaps. 6:10. This delicate cap has blue glass beads knit in among the intricate eyelet lace patterns. It is a very special piece and little is known about it. Perhaps it was made for an upper-class mestizo child; the lacey look is feminine yet boys typically wear caps with earflaps. Its maker, wearer and purpose remain a mystery. I was told that bonnets with the same sort of backflap and little braids were worn by schoolgirls in

La Paz in recent decades. Obviously influenced by the antique bonnets, the newer caps are made of synthetic yarns in stockinette stitch. Embroidered running stitch letters in contrasting thread decorate these bonnets in place of the beads.

Fibers are combined in some pieces. Two antique Bolivian caps collected for the Musée de l'Homme in 1897 were knit in brilliant stripes of aniline-dyed wool edged with rows of white cotton popcorn-stitch decorations. Men in the Huancavelica area of Peru still knit the backgrounds of some caps and armwarmers with fine white cotton crochet thread.

Synthetic Yarns

In recent years, many Andean knitters have begun to use inexpensive and readily available synthetic yarns instead of natural dyes and homespun fibers. This yarn is usually extremely fine and doesn't have the telltale luster of most acrylics. It is used to make traditional textiles that are executed with great care. Many of the finest pieces shown in this book are knit with synthetic yarns; for example, Leonardo Percca's exquisite ch'ullu. 5:4, *Plate 6, cap 9.* When the highlanders knit with a man-made yarn, they overspin it to ensure a tight twist which leaves no fibers to pill, and/or they make the stitches so fine that there is no fuzz to form the pilling often associated with synthetics.

These Orlon/Dralon-type products come only in primary, secondary and day-glo colors. Some of the artists' reasons for choosing these brilliant hues are mentioned in *Chapter Five.* Besides appreciating the intensity of color in these commercial yarns, the knitters enjoy their convenience and non-shrinking properties. Also, a certain prestige comes from wearing and using industrial products.

We may be attracted to, or even prefer, natural fibers and dyes, but it is pointless to bemoan the demise of handspun, naturally-dyed wools. No one who has lived or traveled in the Andes, experienced the harsh climate, and witnessed the poverty and the rigorous chores necessary for survival, could possibly want them to return to fiber-processing methods which would add work to their already labor-intensive lives. (Neither would anyone suggest disregarding all the modern masterpieces painted with acrylic paints!)

Some highlanders who value natural materials continue to use leaves, roots and minerals to color their homespun fibers in big ceramic pots over fires of wood or dried llama dung. Certainly, the people using age-old fiber-processing techniques should be encouraged and their work appreciated and revered. We as travelers/collectors can play some part in this encouragement. But the reality is that most Andean knitters prefer the ease and vivid colors of commercial synthetic yarns.

Color Plate Descriptions

Descriptions of knitted items in Plates 4-12 state the provenance, gauge measurements (height x width), and fiber. All measurements were taken from top to bottom edge of object, excluding fringe, ties, tassels, pompoms, etc.

Plate 1: *Projects*. See pages 80-116 for knitting instructions. Top row: 1. Monedero from Amantani Island, Peru. 2. Monedero from Potosí, Bolivia. 3. Leggings from Tarabuco, Bolivia. 4. Child's cap from Calamarca, Bolivia. 5. Baby girl's hat from Leque, Bolivia. Second row: 6. Girls' ruffled bonnet and infant's mini-bonnet from Huancané, Peru. 7. Girls' ruffled bonnet from Chucuito, Peru. 8. Girls' ruffled bonnet with popcorn stitch motifs from La Paz, Bolivia. 9. Cap with rainbow earflaps from La Paz, Bolivia. 10. Cap with earflaps from Ccatca, Peru. Photo by Peter Lee.

Plate 2: *Landscape near Juli, Peru, on the shores of Lake Titicaca*.

Plate 3: *Cap with applied bead decoration from Ocongate region, Cuzco Department, Peru*.

Plate 4: *All items from Department of Huancavelica, Peru*. Upper group: 1. Socks, Huancavelica, 25 stitches per 2 inches. 17" x 4 1/4". Acrylic. 2. Cap, Lircay, 30 stitches per 2 inches. 11 1/2" x 10 1/2". Acrylic. 3. Armwarmers or Maquitos, Huancavelica, 26 stitches per 2 inches. 15" x 5". Wool. Lower group: 4. Socks, Huancavelica. 29 stitches per 2 inches. 18" x 4 1/4". Acrylic. 5. Cap by Virgilio Sotacuro, Pantachi Norte. 32 stitches per 2 inches. 9 1/4" x 9". Acrylic. 6. Socks, Huancavelica. 23 stitches per 2 inches. 16" x 4 1/4". Acrylic. 7. Child's Socks, Huancavelica. 20 stitches per 2 inches. 11" x 3 1/4". Acrylic. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 5: *From the north-central part of Department of Cuzco, Peru*. Top row: 1. Cap, Chinchero. 17" x 9". Wool. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 2. Two-legged purse, Chinchero Purse. 10" x 4". Wool. See Graph 3. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 3. Infant's cap, Cuzco. (See 2:3.) 8 1/4" x 6 1/2"; 21 x 16.5 cm. Wool. 4. Infant's cap, Cuzco. 8 1/2" x 7"; 21.5 x 17.5 cm. Wool. 5. Cap trimmed with buttons, Pisac. 12" x 8"; 30 x 20 cm. Wool with woven beaded ties. Collection of Jonathan Hill. Bottom row: 6. Cap, Cuzco region, Pampallacta, Calca or Huacahuasi. 12" x 9"; 30.5 x 23 cm. 22 stitches per 2 inches. Wool with couched bead designs. 7. Cap, Cuzco region, Pumacanchis. 12 1/2" x 9"; 32 x 23 cm. 19 stitches per 2 inches. Commercial wool. 8. Cap, Cuzco highland region. 12" x 10"; 30.5 x 25 cm. Acrylic. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 6: *From the southern part of Cuzco Department, Peru*. Top row: 1. Rounded cap, Tinta area (?). 7" x 10 1/2". Wool with popcorn stitch patterning. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 2. Cap, Tambobamba. 8" x 10"; 20 x 25.5 cm. 24 stitches per 2 inches. Wool. 3. Cap with wide earflaps, Ocongate highlands area. 12" x 10"; 30 x 25.5 cm. 36 stitches per 2 inches. Acrylic. Far left: 4-6. Caps with elongated tops. 4. Pitumarca. 19 1/2" x 8 1/2"; 49.5 x 21.5 cm. Alpaca and wool. 5. Pitumarca. 20" x 10 1/2"; 51 x 26.5 cm. 40 stitches per 2 inches. Alpaca and wool. Collection of Meredith Strauss. 6. Pitumarca. 19" x 9"; 48 x 23 cm. Alpaca and wool. 7. Bottom row: Cap, Sicuani. 14" x 9". Wool. 8. Child's cap, Tinta/Pitumarca area (?). 10" x 8"; 25.5 x 20.5 cm. Wool with popcorn-stitch patterning. 9. Cap knit by Leonardo Percca, Cuzco; Urcos-HurinCusco area. 34 stitches per 2 inches. 13 1/2" x 10"; 34 x 25.5 cm. Acrylic, with applied buttons and beads, tassels. 10. Cap, Marcapata. 13" x 9 3/4". 35 stitches per 2 inches. Acrylic. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 7: *Women's caps*. Nos 1-4 are ruffled caps from Department of Puno, Peru. Left to right: 1. Western shore, Lake Titicaca, Acora. 25" x 9 1/2"; 63 1/2 x 24 cm. Acrylic. Fringe added to ruffle. 2. Western shore, Lake Titicaca, Chucuito. 18 1/2" x 9 1/2"; 47 x 23 cm. 15 stitches per 2 inches. Wool and alpaca. 3. Western shore, Lake Titicaca, Acora. 21" x 9 1/2"; 53 x 24 cm. 19 stitches per 2 inches. Acrylic. Fringe added to ruffle. 4. Western shore, Lake Titicaca, Illave, Yunguyo (and Capachica ?). 23" x 10"; 58.5 x 25.5 cm. 15 stitches per 2 inches. Wool and alpaca. Crochet trim added to ruffle. Collection of Heidi Stolp. 5. Cap with checkered border, Ayata, La Paz Department, Bolivia. 19" x 11"; 48 x 28 cm. Wool. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 8: *Beaded caps and gloves*. Nos 1-8 are wool with glass seed beads knit in. Top row: 1. Cap, La Paz Department, Bolivia. 15" x 9"; 38 x 23 cm. 2. Beaded half-gloves, La Paz Department, Bolivia. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 3. Cap, South Lake Titicaca area, Bolivia. 19 1/2" x 9 1/2"; 49.5 x 24 cm. Detail, Plate 46. 4. Cap, Huatajata, South lakeshore, Bolivia. 18" x 9 1/2"; 46 x 24 cm. Detail, Plate 45. Bottom row: 5. Cap, Puno Department, (?) Southwestern lakeshore, Peru. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 6. Woman's cap, La Paz Department, Bolivia. 16 1/2" x 8 1/2"; 42 x 22 cm. 7. Cap, South Lake Titicaca area, Bolivia. 18 1/2" x 9"; 47 x 23 cm. 8. Woman's cap, La Paz Department, Bolivia. 15" x 8 1/2"; 38 x 24 cm. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 9. Cap, South Lake Titicaca area, Copacabana, Bolivia. 15 1/2" x 9"; 39.5 x 23 cm. Acrylic with glass beads. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 9: *Bolivian monederos and bolsitas, or coin purses*. Top row: 1. Llama-shaped bag, Bolivian Altiplano. 8 1/2" x 8"; 21.5 x 20 cm. Natural and plant-dyed wool. Collection of Jonathan Hill. 2. Thin Man monedero, La Paz Department. 9" x 4"; 23 x 10 cm. Wool, decorated with antique coins. 3. Llama-shaped monedero, La Paz Department. 5" x 3"; 12.7 x 7.5 cm. 28 stitches per 2 inches. Wool with antique coins. 4. Figure monedero, La Paz region. 8" x 6"; 20.5 x 15 cm. Wool with antique coins. 5. Bull-shaped bag, Altiplano. 8" x 9 1/2"; 20 x 24 cm. Natural wool and alpaca. Collection of Jonathan Hill. Bottom row: 6. Dance accessory, La Paz Department. 11 1/2" x 7 1/2"; 29 x 19 cm. Wool with coins. 7. Coca bag, La Paz Department. Natural dark and light wool. 12" x 7"; 30.5 x 18 cm. See Graph 19. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 8. Stylized llama purse with tassels, Challa. 7" x 5"; 18 x 12.7 cm. Wool and alpaca. 9. Monedero, La Paz Department. 10 1/2" x 6"; 26.5 x 15 cm. Commercial wool with knitter's name, address, date worked in. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 10: *Bolivian Altiplano*. Top row: 1. Cap, Northern Department of Potosí. 12 1/2" x 9 1/4"; 32 x 23.5 cm. 39 stitches per 2 inches. Wool. 2. Cap, Altiplano. 10 1/4" x 8 1/2"; 26 x 21.5 cm. Wool. 3. Cap, Altiplano. 10 1/2" x 9 1/2"; 27 x 24 cm. Wool. 4. Cap, Northern Potosí, Chayanta (?). 11" x 8 3/4"; 28 x 22 cm. 34 stitches per 2 inches. Wool. 5. Antique cap, Altiplano. 14" x 8 1/4"; 36 x 21 cm. Wool and alpaca. See 3:1. Bottom row: 6. Two-pointed cap, Northern Potosí, Chayanta (?). 14" x 8"; 35.5 x 20 cm. Wool. 7. Antique cap, Calamarca. 12" x 11"; 30.5 x 28 cm. Wool. 8. Cap, La Paz Department, Aroma Province. (?) 14" x 8 1/2"; 35.5 x 22 cm. Alpaca. 9. Cap, La Paz Department, Aroma Province. (?) 10 1/4" x 9 1/2"; 26 x 24 cm. Wool. 10. Cap, Cochabamba Department, Leque. Punta edging. 19 stitches per 2 inches. Punta edging. 9" x 8 1/4"; 23 x 21 cm. Wool. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 11: *Bolivia*. Top row: 1. Cap, northern Department of Chuquisaca, Sucre area, Guadalupe. 36 stitches per 2 inches. 14" x 11"; 36 x 28 cm. Acrylic. 2. Cap, Northern Potosí. 14" x 9"; 36 x 22 cm. Wool. 3. Cap, Potosí. 12 1/2" x 10"; 32 x 25.5 cm. 47 stitches per 2 inches. Acrylic. 4. Cap knit by Braulio Mamani, northern Potosí

Department, northwest of Potosí. 45 stitches per 2 inches. 12" x 10 1/2"; 30.5 x 27 cm. Bottom row: 5. Cap, northern Potosí. 15 1/2" x 8 1/2"; 39.5 x 21.5 cm. Wool. 6. Cap, northern Potosí, Macha. (?) 15" x 8 1/2"; 38 x 21.5 cm. Wool. Collection of Jeff Appleby. 7. Cap, Macha. 12 1/2" x 10"; 32 x 25.5 cm. 39 stitches per 2 inches. Acrylic. 8. Small cap with white background. Macha/Ocuro area. 11" x 9"; 28 x 23 cm. 50 stitches per 2 inches. Acrylic. 9. Cap knit by Marcos Paco. Macha. 13" x 10"; 33 x 25 cm. 29 stitches per 2 inches. Acrylic. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 12: Bolivia, all acrylic items. Top row: 1. Cap, northern Potosí Department, CalaCala/Laymi area. 37 stitches per 2 inches. 15" x 10 1/2"; 35.5 x 26.5 cm. 2. Cap with large central motif, northern Potosí Department, Bustillos Province. 15 1/2" x 10"; 39 x 25.5 cm. 3. Cap, northern Potosí Department, CalaCala/Lagunillas. 14 1/2" x 9 1/4"; 37 x 23.5 cm. 4. Cap, northern Potosí Department, Bustillos. 16 1/2" x 10"; 42 x 25.5 cm. 5. Cap, northern Potosí Department, Bustillos, CalaCala. 37 stitches per 2 inches. 15" x 9 1/4"; 38 x 23.5 cm. Detail, back cover. Bottom row: 6. Cap, northern Potosí Department, Bustillos. 17" x 10 1/2"; 43 x 26.5 cm. 7. Bicolor cap, Oruro or northern Potosí Department. 17" x 10 1/2". Collection of Jonathan Hill. 8. Northern Potosí Department, Bustillos. 41 stitches per 2 inches. 14 1/2" x 10 1/2"; 37 x 26.5 cm. Photo by Gary Slack.

Plate 13. Pre-Hispanic knotted cap or wig with shaggy fringe. Provenance: central Andes. Pre-Inca? Collection of Robert Duff.

Plate 14. Pack train of llamas near Lake Titicaca, Yunguyo, Peru, carrying bags or costales woven of llama hair, strapped on with llama hair rope.

Plate 15. Basket of handspun wool yarns, Tarabuco, Bolivia.

Plate 16. Brothers Marcos (left), and Pastor Mamani of ayllu Sakaka at the 1989 festival of Niño San Salvador, in the town of Sacaca, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia. Marcos carries his sikuri, or panflute, which he plays in his community ensemble. Pastor wove and embroidered his vest and matching jacket. Both men wear the latest fashion in 'Sakaka ch'ullus' knit by their wives from Bolivian factory-spun yarn. Photo by Juan Cutipa.

Plate 17. Catalina Calsin Yucra, age 19, knitter from Amantani Island, Peru. Detail of her knitting is shown on back cover.

Plate 18. Pompoms adorning the ends of cap ties from Huancavelica, Peru.

Plate 19. Fiesta reveler, northern Potosí, Bolivia, wearing fiesta ch'ullu under his felt hat, or montera.

Plate 20. Fringed Ukukku, or monkey costume, Q'ollur Riiti or Snow Star festival, Mt. Ausangate, Peru. Photo by Loren McIntyre.

Plate 21. Fiesta revelers wearing masks and brilliant vests encrusted with buttons and rows of handwoven braided embellishments, Cuzco area, Peru. Photo by Bruce Klepinger.

Plate 22. Demetrio Ataipuma, Huancavelica, Peru, dressed in full festival regalia.

Plate 23. Market scene, Achacachi, Bolivia. Women in traditional costume selling chuños.

Plate 24. Three antique ch'ullus from Calamarca, Bolivia, with typical motifs. Collection of Steve Berger.

Plate 25. Man wearing fiesta ch'ullu decorated with buttons, with an array of colors against a white background, Cuzco area, Peru. Photo by Loren McIntyre.

Plate 26. Silverio Ayca Adovere, age 17, Macha Cruz, Bolivia, models the ch'ullu that he knit with traditional motifs, and a very fine gauge.

Plate 27. Eight-year old knitter from Taquile Island, Peru. He wears his childhood cap knit by his father, while he perfects his own knitting skills.

Plate 28. Boy from CalaCala, Bolivia, watching a fiesta. His hat is knit so firmly that it stands upright on its own.

Plate 29. Powdered dyes in the market at Huarás, Peru. Photo by Régine Garnier.

Plate 30. Knitted ceremonial PachaMama charm bag, Potosí, Bolivia, beautifully detailed of wool and cotton. Head of mother and baby are embroidered, stuffed cloth. The other parts are knit in fine wool. Strings of blown glass and carnelian beads, metal bells and antique coins embellish this exceptional piece. Collection of Ulises Murgia Bellido, Potosí, Bolivia. Knit by his grandmother and embellished over the years by family members. See also: 2:23.

Plate 31. Men from Pisac, Peru in ponchos and ch'ullus. One man holds a pututu, or conch shell horn. Photo by Dennis Randall.

Plate 32. Musician with elaborate fiesta ch'ullu, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia.

Plate 33. Detail, 19th Century ch'ullu, Pitumarca, Peru. Gauge: 38 stitches per 2 inches. Collection of Meredith Strauss.

Plate 34. Detail, antique ch'ullu of dyed alpaca yarns, Potosí Department, Bolivia.

Plate 35. Detail, Typical floral vine pattern from a Taquile Island pintay chullo.

Plate 36. Detail, ch'ullu from Potosí area, Bolivia, in brilliant acrylic yarns. Gauge: 39 stitches per 2 inches.

Plate 37. Detail, Jumping cat ch'ullu by Eduardo Ch'oqué, Llaclagua, Bolivia.

Plate 38. Detail, ikat patterning in antique ch'ullu from the central altiplano, Bolivia. Collection of Steve Berger.

Plate 39. Detail, ch'ullu by Silverio Huanaco, Uncia area, Bolivia. Silverio added a small person in center of the middle row to complete a pattern band that would not have worked out evenly. Gauge: 38 stitches per 2 inches. See also: 4:12, 4:A.

Plate 40. Detail, fiesta ch'ullu, Huancavelica, Peru. The use of white stitches throughout subtly blends the myriad colors.

Plate 41. Detail, ch'ullu from northern Potosí Department. Delicate vine motifs outline diamond shapes. Gauge: 42 stitches per 2 inches.

Plate 42. Detail, border of chullo soltero from Taquile Island, Peru.

Plate 43. Detail, beaded wool ch'ullu from southern shore of Lake Titicaca, Bolivia.

Plate 44. Detail, ch'ullu knit by Silverio Ayca Adovere, age 15, Macha Cruz, Bolivia.

Plate 45. Detail, beaded wool ch'ullu from Huatajata, Bolivia, on the southern shore of Lake Titicaca. Beads are knit into rainbow-striped bands.

Plate 46. Detail, antique ch'ullu of handspun wool from Pitumarca, Peru, late 19th century. Collection of Meredith Strauss.

Cover Photos

Front Cover: Spectacular fiesta ch'ullu knit by Dioniceo Laura Oquenaya from Ccatca, near Cuzco, Peru. Block letters spell out his name, village, the date and his age, 31 years. This cap exemplifies the area's intricate knitting style. Not counting white stitches, the multicolored diamonds in the widest pattern band required 42 color changes! The construction technique is intarsia knitting with a corded join. (See Techniques.) Tiny pink, blue and white puntas edge both the cap and the two-piece earflaps. (See Ccatca Regional Characteristics.) Gauge: 40 stitches per 2 inches. Strands of pastel pearls, cerise tassels and beaded woven ties add the finishing touches to Dioniceo's masterpiece. He wore this cap until 1986, when he tired of it and sold it to a friend. Knit-in words spell out: Recuerdo el año de 1979, Ccatca-Juebis 12 de Julio año de 1979. Señor Dioniceo Laura Oquenaya 31 años.

Back Cover, top row: 1. Detail, ch'ullu from CalaCala, Potosí Department, Bolivia, with zigzag motif. (See page 48.)

2. A Challa, Bolivia, youngster shyly models his traditional wool cap. Knit purses and woven belts from the area share the same geometric and floral motifs and warm colors.

3. Northern Potosí, Bolivia, musical group with panpipes at the Llallagua Assumption Celebration. Some of the men wear cowhide helmets that are part of the festival's ritual boxing, or tinku, attire.

4. Mother and baby girl from Taquile Island, Peru. The child's ruffled bonnet protects her from the harsh Andean sunlight, and identifies her as a girl.

Second row: 5. Bolivian reed boat carrying sacrificial llama. Island of the Sun, Bolivia. Photo by Loren McIntyre.

6. Cerise tassels decorate and bring fertility to llamas near Santa Inés, Peru.

7. Zosimo Taipe Kicha, from Condor Huachana, Huancavelica, Peru, in sombre luto, or mourning, knitted mangas, or arm-warmers, and ch'ullu.

8. Countryside route near Potosí, Bolivia.

Bottom row: 1. A sampling of the projects included in this book. Upper left: Project 1. Coin purse, or monedero from Amantani Island, Peru. Lower left and center: Project 6. Ruffled mini-bonnet and little girl's bonnet from Huancané, Peru. Upper right: Project 10. Child's or adult's cap from Ccatca, Peru. Lower right: Project 4. Child's cap with design motifs from Calamarca, Bolivia. Photo by Peter Lee.

2. Closeup of the hands of Catalina Calsin Yucra, age 19, Amantani Island, Peru. She is beginning a bolista, or small purse using 5 double-pointed needles. (See Plate 17.)

3. Cynthia Gravelle LeCount. Photo by Marcy Gamba.



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Plate 5 Peru, north central Department of Cuzco.



Plate 6 Peru, southern Cuzco Department.



Plate 7 *Women's caps, Peru and Bolivia.*



Plate 8 *Beaded caps and gloves, Peru and Bolivia.*



Plate 9 *Monederos, Bolivia.*



Plate 10 *Caps, Bolivian Altiplano.*



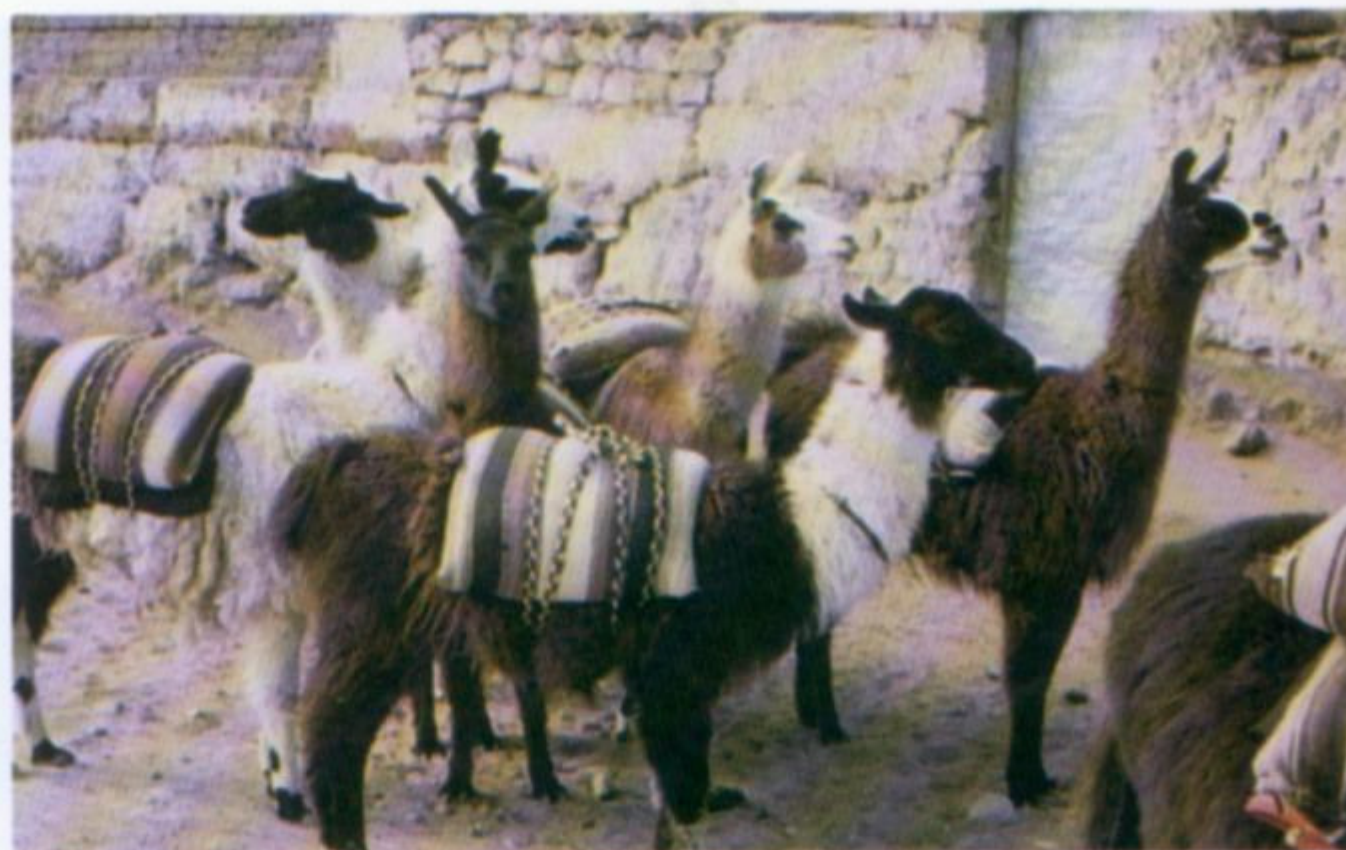
Plate 11 Caps, northern Departments of Chuquisaca and Potosí, Bolivia.



Plate 12 Caps, mining region, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia.



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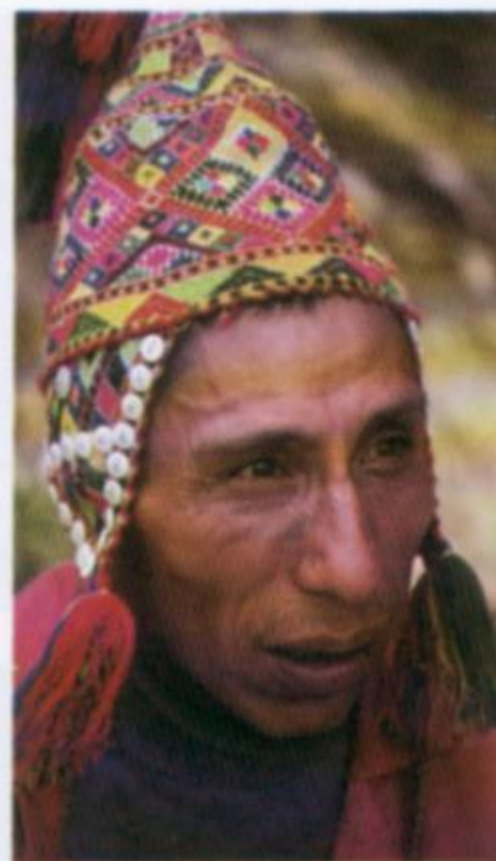


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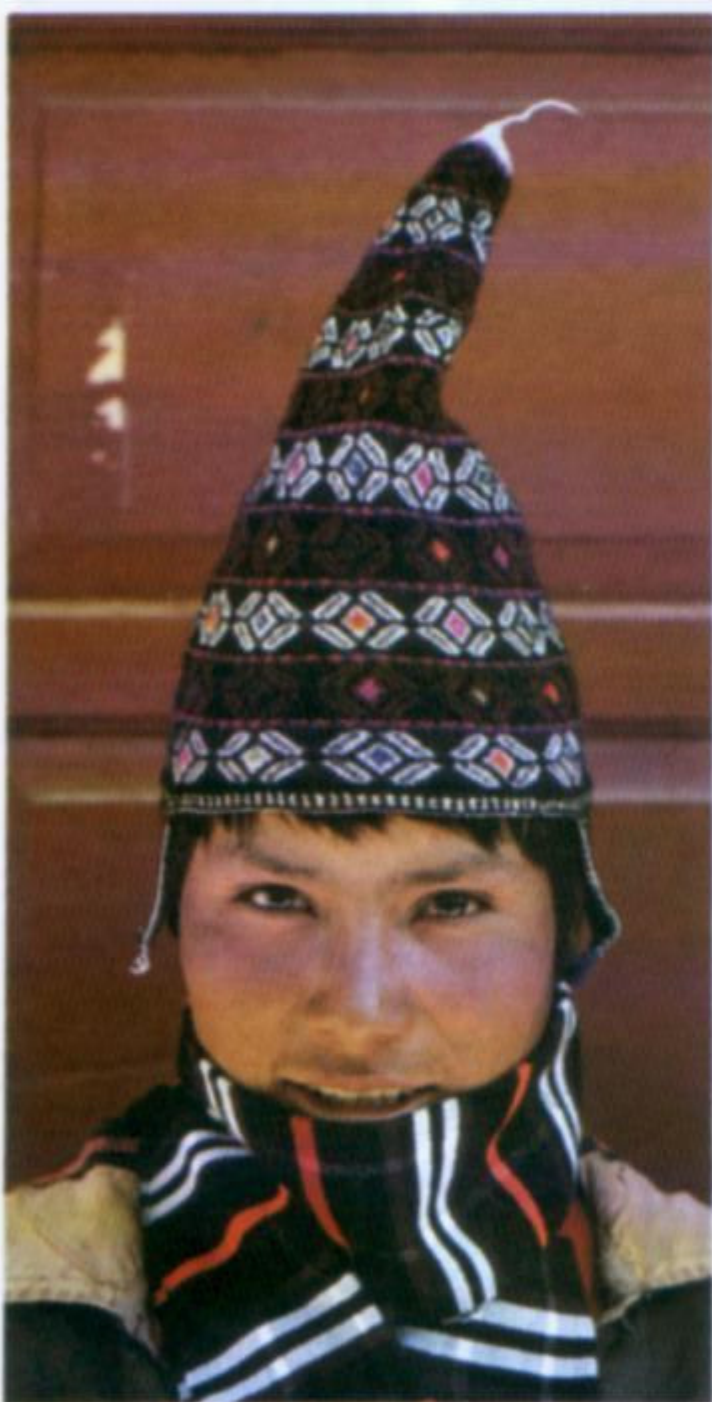
ANDEAN FOLK KNITTING



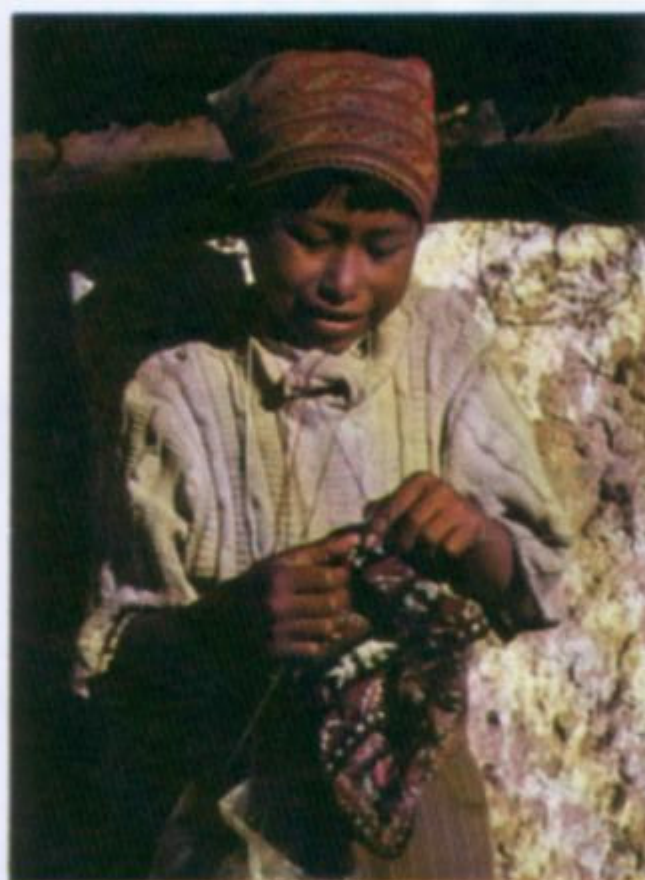
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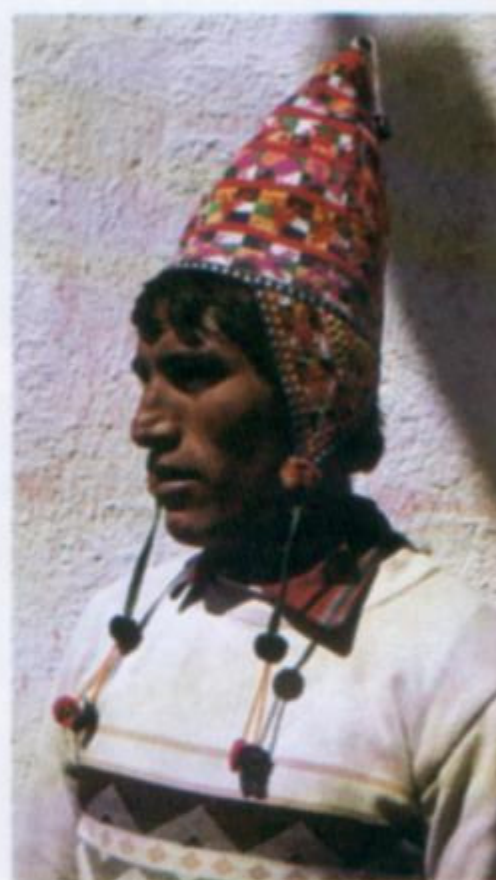
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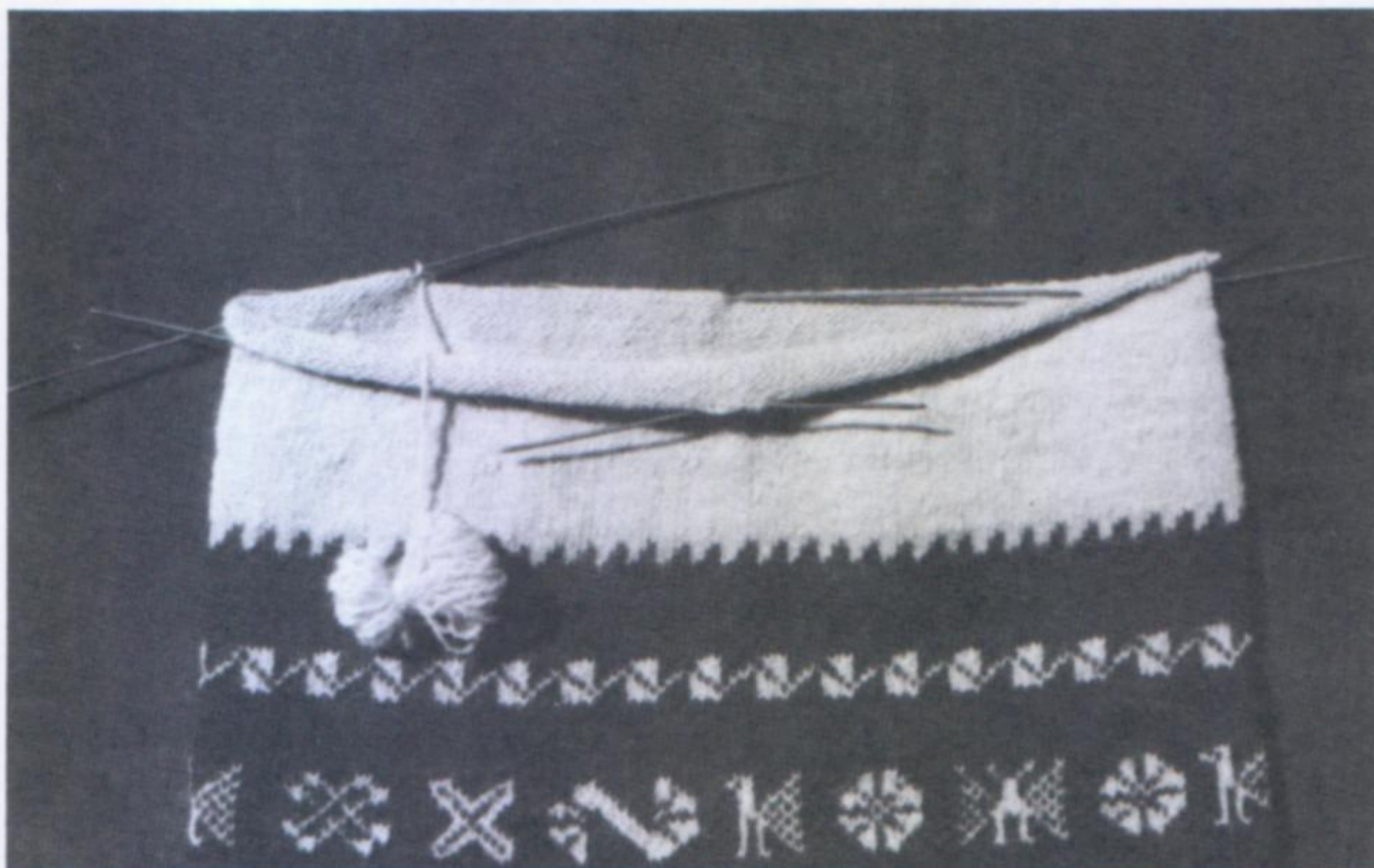


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Techniques of Andean Knitting



7:1 *Chullo soltero* in progress by Pio Machaca Quispe of Taquile Island, Peru. Pio's wife, Andrea, spins and dyes the wool for him. Knitters in this region often work with the purl side facing them.

Yarns

The projects included here require fine yarns which can be either wool or synthetic. The choice of fiber is a personal one; adults often prefer the natural qualities of wool. An advantage of wool is that knitting imperfections will smooth out of a wool project during blocking. Some children complain of itchy foreheads when wearing wool caps, so you may want to consider a good quality synthetic for little ones' caps. The synthetics wash well and do not shrink.

Any yarn which gives the correct gauge will work well. When I needed only a small amount of a

certain color, and/or couldn't find it in a knitting yarn, I substituted crewel embroidery wool, which is available in dozens of colors in convenient lengths of several yards. It blends in with other yarns if you are careful to use the number of strands to make it comparable in thickness.

I have been generous in specifying the amounts of various yarns needed for the projects; you should always have enough, and may even have some leftover yarn to save for other projects.

Yarn sizes used in the patterns fall into three weight categories, or groups, pictured below. 7:2.



7:2 Yarn weight categories. Left, Group A: 210 yards/50 grams. Single ply wool, 2-ply wool, 2-ply alpaca, 2-ply Shetland wool. Center, Group B. 200 yards/50 grams. 2-ply wool, single-ply wool, 4-ply wool, 3-ply wool/acrylic blend. Group C. 190 yards/50 grams. 3-ply alpaca, 3-ply wool, 3-ply wool/acrylic blend, 2-ply acrylic.

Yarn Sizes

Yarns pictured in 7:2. Similar weight/yardage equivalents may be substituted.

Group A. *Fine wool. Approx. 210 yds/50 grams Raanulanka, (single-ply) and 2-ply Takana from Finland, 2-ply alpaca from Bolivia, Shetland wool from England.*

Group B. *Approx. 200 yds./50 grams. Tunagarn wool from Sweden, single-ply wool from Harrisville, 3-ply wool from Dale, 2-ply wool/acrylic from Pingouin.*

Group C. *Approx. 190 yds/50 grams. 3-ply alpaca from Peru, 3-ply wool from Chatte Botte, 3-ply wool/ acrylic from Pingouin, 2-ply acrylic from Unger.*

Relative diameter of each weight group is listed in the chart above. Some sources for fine yarns and needles are listed at right.

Needles

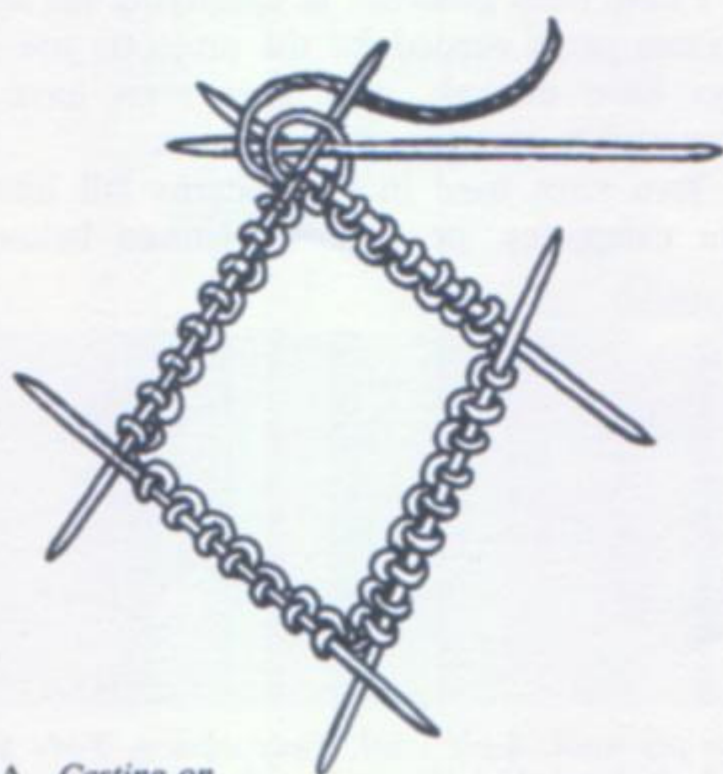
You will need a set of 5 double-pointed needles in the size required to obtain the gauge for each project. Sets of 5 needles in steel or bamboo are available from European and Japanese sources. Or, use two sets of four needles, with spares! Some sources for needles are listed at right.

Techniques

The projects in this book are for knitters with some experience. Refer to the Bibliography for several excellent instructional books on knitting. The circular color work of Andean knitting involves some special techniques, described below.

Casting On for Circular Knitting

Cast stitches onto the needles using any method you prefer, dividing them evenly among four needles. 7:A. The fifth needle is used to knit with. For example, to start a cap requiring 120 stitches, cast 30 stitches onto



7:A Casting on
for circular knitting

Suppliers

Fine Yarns:

Halcyon
12 School Street
Bath, ME 04530
Wools in a variety of weights

Harrisville Designs
Harrisville, NH 03450
Wools in a variety of weights

Glimakra Looms N Yarns
1304 Scott Street
Petaluma, CA 94952
Swedish wools.

Schoolhouse Yarns
25495 SE Hofmeister Rd.
Boring, OR 97009
Finnish wools

Needles & Yarns:

Double-pointed needles in small sizes and fine yarns are available from:

Schoolhouse Press
6399 Cary Bluff
Pittsville, WI 54466
Shetland wool, a variety of circular and double-pointed needles in small sizes.

Crystal Palace Yarns
3006 San Pablo Avenue
Berkeley, CA 94702
Wools, silks, Japanese Bamboo needles.

Patternworks
PO Box 1690
Poughkeepsie, NY 12601
Yarns and needles

Light weight Alpaca Yarns:

On the Inca Trail
PO Bx 9406
Ft. Worth, TX 76147

Plymouth Yarn Co.
500 Lafayette St.
Bristol, PA 19007

Sajama Alpaca
PO Box 1209
Ashland OR 97520

each of 4 needles. Arrange the needles in a square. Be sure there are no twists between the stitches. With the fifth needle and the yarn attached to the last stitch on the fourth needle, knit into the first cast-on stitch at the beginning of the first needle, joining the work into a circle. If a pattern requires an uneven number of stitches, divide the stitches approximately evenly. To work a purse requiring 98 stitches on a set of four needles, divide 98 by 3 for $32 + 2$. Two needles could hold 32 stitches each, and the third could hold 34; or two needles could hold 33 stitches and the third, 32 stitches. Divisions that are equal or almost equal ensure that increases and decreases are made evenly around the piece.

Marking Rounds

When knitting patterns in the round, it is very important to mark the beginning/ending join. A small safety pin or paper clip works well for marking circular knitting. Attach the marker in the bar between the first and last stitches of the first round. Each time you come to the marker, you will begin a new round. Move the marker up every inch or so as you knit, so it is always visible. Occasionally you will need two or more markers in a pattern, for example, to mark the side edges of a purse. To differentiate, I use gold and silver safety pins or different colored plastic paper clips.

Circular Knitting

The knitting proceeds in spiral fashion; knit stitches are used throughout. One color used alone forms a solid-color stripe. Most Andean knitting is worked in patterns with several different colors carried continuously around the work, using either stranding or weaving methods (described below) to control the unused colors. Since all of the colors are carried around, each color is in place when needed for the next round. Bands of patterned knitting may be used in conjunction with other techniques.

In certain places, such as Taquile Island, a less common version of this knitting method is used. The piece is worked from the reverse, or "wrong" side in purl stitches. 7:1.

Reading the Graphs

I find it difficult to follow a graph or chart that is bound in a book, therefore I recommend making a photocopy of the desired pattern. Many people like to enlarge their pattern graphs on the copy machine, to make the stitches more visible. Coloring the graphs with transparent highlighter-type marking pens makes it easier to visualize the color scheme and the shapes of the motifs.

My favorite method for keeping my place on a chart is to stick a square of Post-It™ note paper below the line I am knitting. Since the graphs are worked from the bottom up, I move the paper up as I work. Some knitters use a clever gadget (made for cross-stitch or needlepoint) consisting of a metal sheet with a moveable magnetic strip which sandwiches the paper pattern and marks the correct row of the graph. Or each row can be marked with a pencil or highlighter marking pen as you go along. Blank grids are included at the end of the pattern graphs in case you want to work out your own designs or combinations of motifs.

Knitting the Patterns

Often the directions will tell you to verify the correct number of stitches on the needles before beginning the pattern. This is very important! You must have the correct multiple of stitches or the motifs will not work out exactly.

The charts in this book are read from the bottom upward, and from right to left. The bottom right corner stitch is the first in the pattern. You will knit each repeat reading from right to left (beginning and ending at the heavy black lines on the graphs) until you reach the marker, then begin the next round.

There are several methods for working with more than one color. You can wind the pattern colors into small balls or onto bobbins. With bobbins you can control the release of yarn and thus won't have little balls rolling around on the floor for the cat to play with. If the pattern involves many color changes, but only in small areas (such as the color accents on the Amantani purse), it is easier to use short lengths (2-3 yards) of each color. The short lengths are easy to pull

out of a tangle, should all your yarns become twisted together.

In all but two patterns given here (the Chucuito bonnet and the Amantani purse), the colors are carried all around the piece, using any of three methods of carrying the unused colors explained below. To introduce another color, Andean knitters tie the new color in at the marker.

Carrying Colors

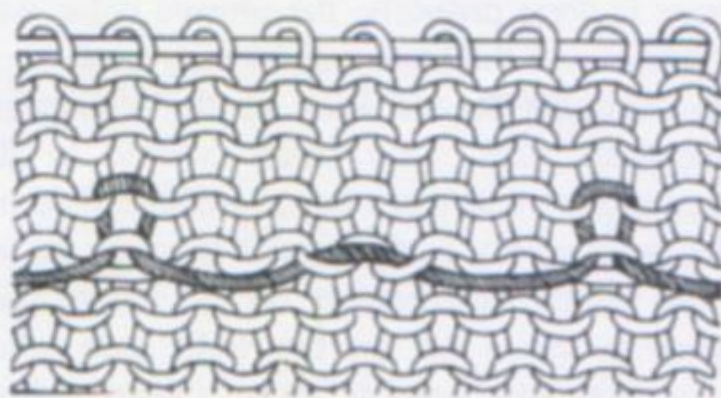
With any of the following methods, the yarns must be brought around the piece *loosely* or the knit will pucker, which not only looks odd, but makes the knit item too small.

Stranding. Generally, stranding is used when there are five or fewer stitches to span. Simply carry the unused color *loosely* along behind the other stitches, at the same tension as the knitting. Be consistent when changing colors. Pick up the new color in the same way (under or over the old color) each time.



7:B Stranding the second color.

Catching-up. A variation between stranding and the more tedious weaving. If there are more than 5 stitches to span, catch up the unused color in with the working yarn every third or fourth stitch by twisting the two colors on the wrong side. 7:B. It is better not to catch up the yarn at the same spot in each round; if you stagger the places where you knit in the unused color, it is less apt to show. This method takes a little practice. If your tension isn't tight enough, the unused color will show between the stitches on the right side.

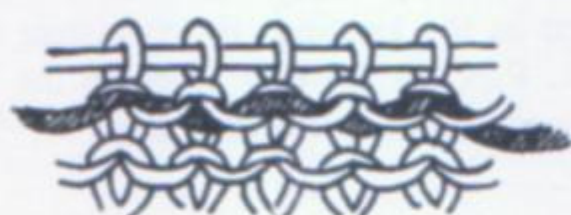


7:C Catching-up the second color.

To Prevent Tangles: On long floats, twist the yarns first in one direction, then in the other and they will not spiral together and tangle.

Weaving: A popular method with Andean knitters, weaving is a time-consuming technique, but it produces the most stable and durable knit items. The unused color(s) are caught in as each stitch is knitted. 4:9, 4:10, 7:C. In Andean work, weaving is usually done with a main color and a contrasting color, but two (or rarely three) contrasting colors are sometimes woven in. Besides stabilizing the piece, weaving completely eliminates floats, so there is no possibility of snagging the knit.

There are many ways of describing the weaving process. The technique takes some practice to perfect. It is helpful to make a small sample and practice weaving with two colors before tackling a whole project. The following example uses black and white yarns. When working a section with black as the main color, white is woven in at the back:



7:D Weaving in the second color.

Weaving Instructions:

Knit the first stitch in the round with black.

Insert the needle in the next stitch as if to knit.

Holding the two yarns in your left hand between thumb and forefinger (more or less horizontally), roll or twist the black and white together once, upward (toward you), pick up and knit the black strand.

Insert the needle in the next stitch, roll the yarns downward (away from you), pick up the black again and knit that stitch with it.

I say *upward, downward, upward* to myself until I get a rhythm going. You will pick up the black strand from above and then from below the white yarn. It is not necessary to insert the needle before twisting the yarns; find the way that seems most comfortable to you. Look at the back of the work. If this technique is done properly, the unused color will be "tacked down" and the back will be very neat.

When changing colors, keep up the alternating downward/upward rolls. One stitch twisted in the wrong direction here and there is not a disaster. Many Andean pieces have only fairly regular weaving on the back, yet the pieces look perfect on the front. Your tension needs to be a bit on the tight side when weaving, so that the unused color doesn't show through on the front.

An additional advantage of weaving is that the yarns are twisted in opposite directions, and will untwist themselves automatically as you work. Twisting the yarns in one direction only results in their quickly becoming entangled.

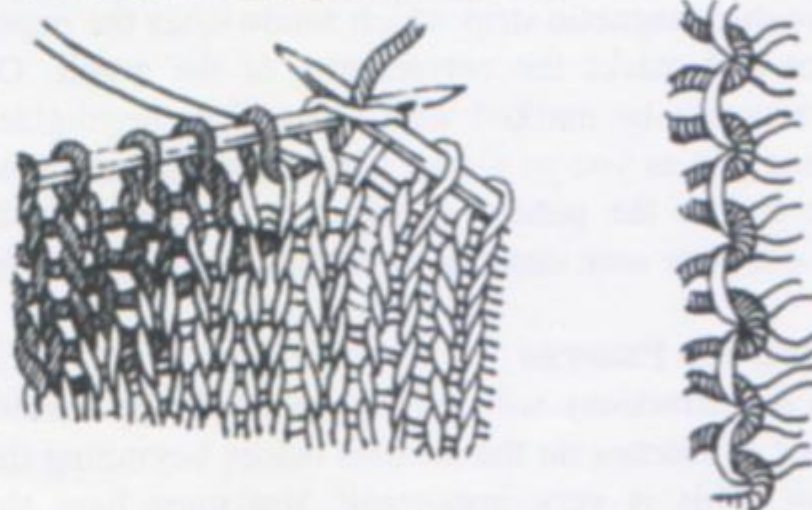
Andean knitters in some areas use the weaving technique just described, but work from the *inside*, purling all stitches and draping the yarns around their necks to get the proper tension. This traditional method is fun to try. The fact that I can't see what I'm doing on the right side bothers me, but the tension is perfectly regulated by the "drag" of the yarns around the neck. 7-1.

One drawback of the weaving technique is that woven-knit pieces usually do not have as much flexibility as stranded pieces, and can be rigid when tightly knit. Boys from certain regions of Bolivia like to weave in colors tightly as they knit, making caps so rigid that they stand up in a cone shape when worn! Plate 28.

If you use the weaving method, you may wish to incorporate a technique used by many Bolivian knitters. Where the composition of their caps calls for an unpatterned stripe, they knit it with two strands of the same color, knitting with one and weaving the other! This ensures that the plain-color stripes will have the same density as the patterned bands, giving a uniform thickness to the entire cap.

Working Discontinuous Motifs

Many knitters are familiar with the knit/purl technique of *intarsia* knitting, or the argyle technique, for working discontinuous areas of color. Yarns from each separate section are *interlocked* where two color areas meet. The method is similar to interlocking color sections in tapestry weaving.



7:E Intarsia knitting. 7:F Interlocking of color sections.

Andean knitters have adapted the intarsia method to their circular knitting in order to introduce many more colors into their work. Normally, if intarsia is worked in the round, the yarns end up on the opposite side of the motif, inaccessible for the next round. The Andean knitters don't hesitate to bring the color across the back of the work from left to right, into position to use on the next round. This creates a large float on the back, which some knitters may tack down on subsequent rounds. I have called this adaptation *zigzag intarsia*.

As an example, in a tall brown cap with one row of flowers knit in around the bottom, each flower might be a different color. It would be difficult and bulky to carry a different-colored strand for each



7:3 Detail, reverse side of Chucuito bonnet showing floats resulting from zigzag intarsia technique. 7:4 Detail, reverse side of Amantani Island monedero, showing small floats from diagonal color accents.

flower all around the piece. By using zigzag intarsia, each time the knitter comes to the next color flower, he/she simply brings the yarn to the right, back across the motif and begins to knit with it again. At the same time, the background color is carried all around the piece.

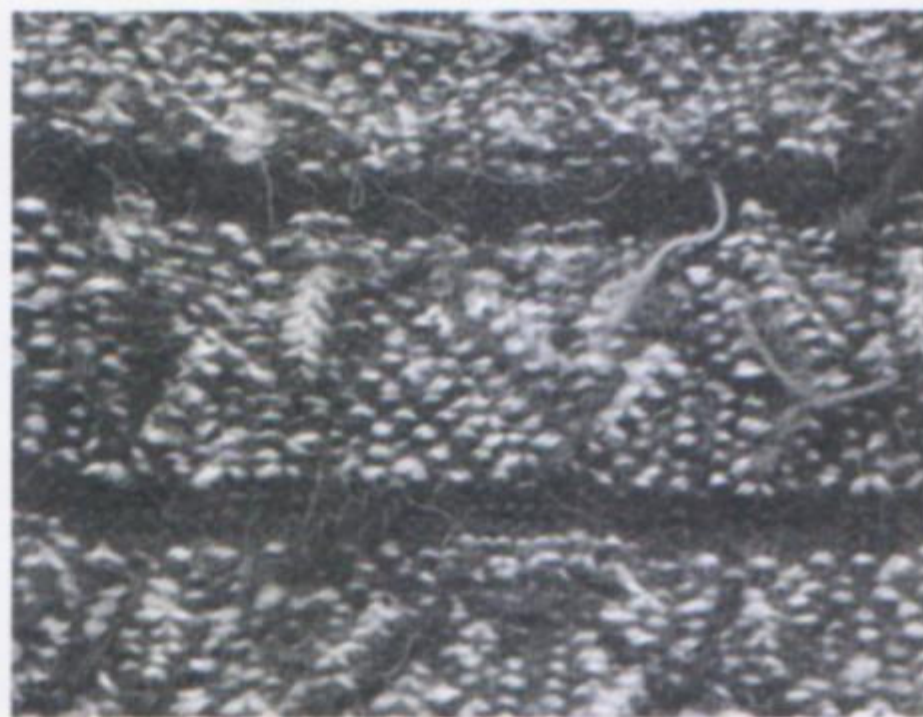
Zigzag intarsia is usually used in small sections of less than 7 or 8 stitches. The yarn may be visible at the back of the work as a long float, or it may be caught up by several stitches in the following row. 7:3.

A slight disadvantage of zigzag intarsia is that the extra strand brought back across the motif does add some bulk, but it is a clever and easy way to accomplish knitting in the round with each motif in a different color.

Diagonal color accents: A simplified version of zigzag intarsia, diagonal accents may be used in conjunction with it, but are used alone often enough to be considered a separate technique. It is a similar way of adding small amounts of more colors into circular knitting. The accent shapes are often triangular or diamond-shaped, and only 2 or 3 stitches wide. Accents are formed by bringing the yarn diagonally across the previous stitches and up into the next round to be knit. The action is somewhat different for left- and right-slanting motifs. Caps from Taquile Island have diagonal accent flower patterns. 5: 23, 7:4.

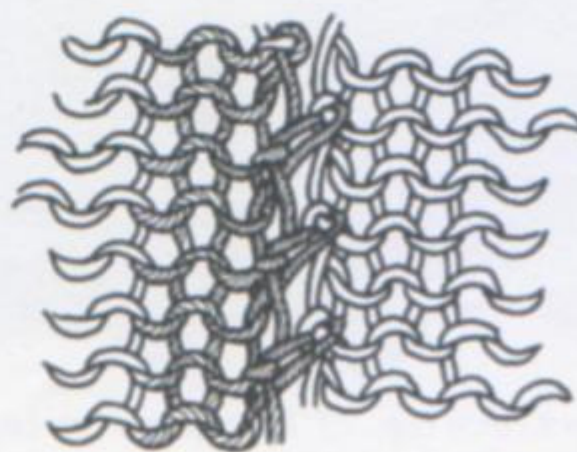
Joining Intarsia Knitting Into Rounds

Knit-Purl Intarsia Joins: Andean knitters have devised some ingenious ways to join the normally flat intarsia knitting into a circle. It can then be worked with *alternating knit/purl rounds*, and still be combined with circular pattern knitting. The knitter knits across with the intarsia technique, leaving the yarns at the left edge of each color section. He/she joins the working yarn to the next round in one of two ways, then *purls* back. The yarns are then in place at the right edge of each section. The joining of the first



stitch of each subsequent round with the last stitch of the previous round may appear as a straight path through plain or patterned sections, or it may meander along the edge of a motif. 7:5. Andean knitters are so skilled that both kinds of joins are nearly imperceptible on the front of the work and difficult to find on the reverse! The background yarns carried within each intarsia section may be either stranded or woven on the reverse side.

1. Knitted join: The two edges of the knit/purl fabric may be joined by knitting. The artisan knits an intarsia row, knits a joining stitch into the next round, then turns and *purls* back to the other side. Since this join is made with yarns integral to the cap construction, it is less likely to come apart than the corded join below. The knitted join is also harder to make neatly than the corded join, but when done expertly, is practically invisible. June Hiatt describes a "neat" version of this join, calling it the "seam stitch." (Hiatt, 1989).



7:G Knitted join, appearance on back side.

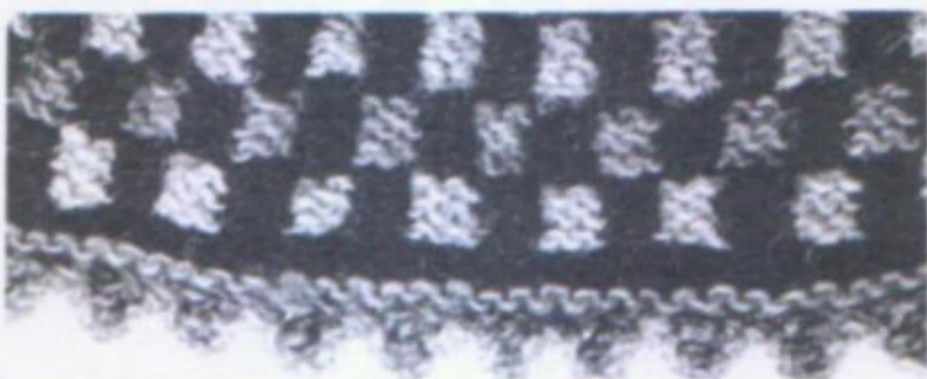
2. Corded join: An additional strand or two of yarn may be brought up from the bottom edge of the cap and used as a "post" to wrap the yarns from the intarsia sections on either side of the join. 7:F. To form the cord, some knitters tie in a new strand at the bottom edge of the cap, or wherever the cord is



7:5 Detail, corded join on Cuzco-area cap. Collection of Karen Searle. 7:H Diagram of yarns wrapping the cord.

Special Andean Embellishments

Andean knitting is rich in colorful embellishments. Buttons, beads, tassels, pompoms, rickrack-like puntas (a combination of knit and crochet) and popcorn stitches or small bobbles are just a few of the fanciful ways ch'ullus are decorated. Puntas and popcorn stitches are used in some of the subsequent patterns, and are described in detail here.



7:6 Tiny puntas on Ccatca cap. 7:7 Large puntas on Leque cap. Photos by Karen Searle.

Scalloped Borders or Puntas: This delicate scalloped edging is a combination of crochet and knitting and decorates caps from the Leque and Challa, Bolivia and Ccatca and other Cuzco area villages in Peru. It makes a delightful embellishment. 7:4.

I have made some modifications in the traditional methods to make the instructions easier to follow. Purists may want to follow the Andean

needed. Others leave a long tail of the yarn used to knit the first pattern band around the bottom of the cap. When carried upward, this long strand becomes the cord for the join, eliminating the need to tie in a new strand.

The knitter knits around to the cord, wraps the working yarn around it, then purls back in the opposite direction, reversing the procedure on reaching the cord again. This is similar to a dovetail join in tapestry weaving. If the cord is removed, the cap falls apart, as if a seam were unsewn.

The cords usually stretch all the way from the bottom of the cap to the top in a straight line, and are carried unused through any areas that are knit in true circular knitting. In some examples, where circular bands alternate with intarsia bands, cords are made up of short pieces of yarn tied into the first round of each intarsia section. In this case, separate short cords may appear at different places in each intarsia section around the cap.

methods exactly! In the Andes, the foundation chain is made by looping with the fingers; a crochet hook speeds the process and makes a more even chain. A loose, even chain is important, for if the chain is too tight, picking up loops will be difficult. Scallops made from a too-tight chain will not lie flat.

Andean knitters use double-pointed needles for the scallops, but the scallop strip gets very long and slides off the ends. Using a circular needle or a long single-pointed needle to hold the stitches solves this problem. *Patterns 8 and 10* use punta edgings to begin the caps.

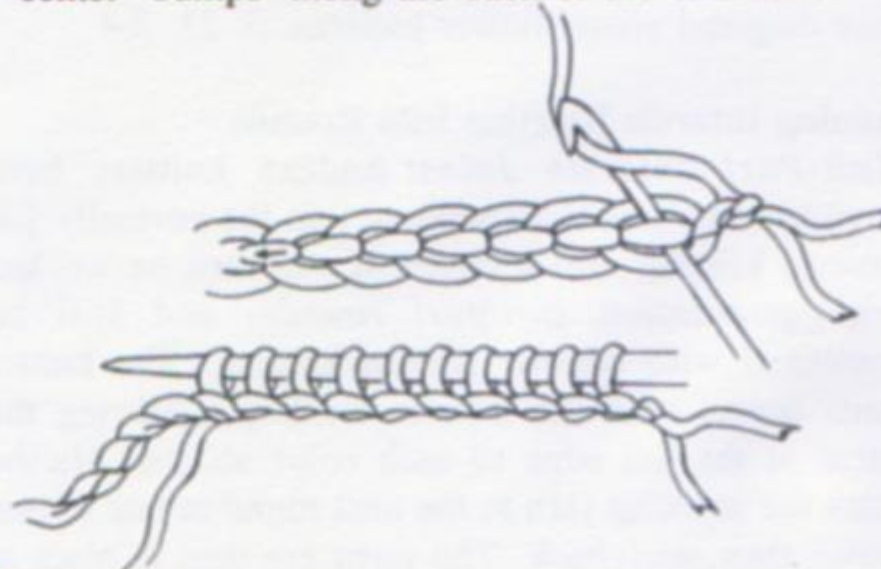
Puntas Instructions

Two colors (or more) of yarn are used. Makes a small scallop, about $\frac{3}{4}$ " in size. Directions for tiny scallops are in parenthesis.

With Color A and crochet hook, make a fairly loose chain approximately 32 inches long. Break off yarn, leaving a 12-inch tail.

Attach Color B at the slip knot (beginning) of the chain.

Starting at knot, pick up (7) 10 loops through the center "bumps" along the back of the chain. 7-G.



7:1 Starting the puntas.

Slide loops to the right-hand side of the double-pointed needle.

Place one loop on a straight needle, which will hold the scallops as you knit. 7:I.

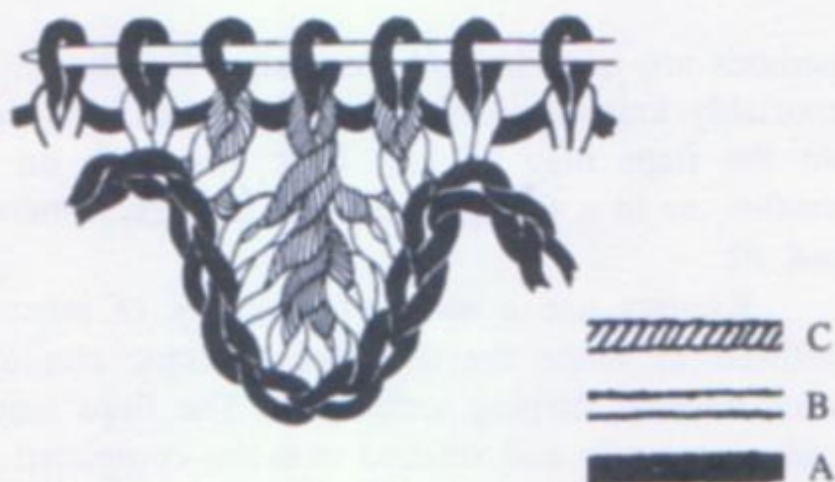
Attach a second ball of Color B or introduce a third color.

Knit (4) 5; slide the last 2 of these stitches back onto the left needle.

Knit together the 2 stitches from left needle. One decrease made.

Knit 1; pick up the 2nd and 3rd stitches from right needle and slip them over first stitch. One double decrease made.

†Knit (2) 3 stitches remaining on left needle. One scallop made, consisting of 6 stitches plus a 7th stitch which begins the new scallop. 7:J.

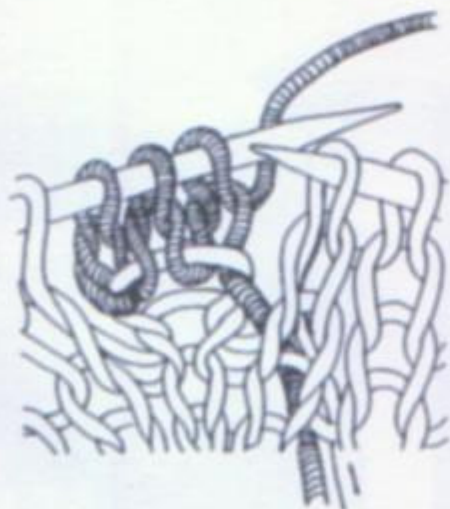


7:J Completed scallop.

For subsequent scallops, pick up (7) 9 loops from chain, slide them onto left needle and recommence at †. To check your work, after completing each scallop, the right needle should have stitches equaling a multiple of (5) 6 plus 1 extra.

Popcorn Stitch Embellishments

Tiny knobs of bright colors decorate caps in the La Paz and Chucuito areas. 7:5. They may be knit in or crocheted on afterwards, or, sometimes they are done in a sort of crude cross-stitch technique. The knitted and crocheted methods are given here. Patterns 7 and 8 use the popcorn embellishment.

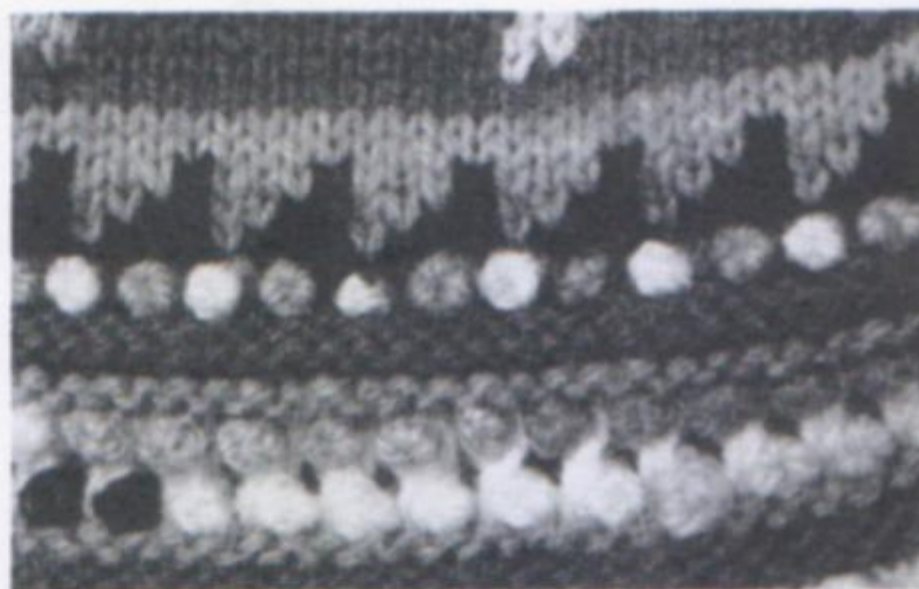


7:K Knit popcorn stitch.

1. Knitted Popcorn Knots: Worked while knitting cap.

With a short length of contrast-color yarn, purl into the next stitch.

K1, P1 in the same stitch.



7:8 Popcorn stitch embellishments.

Turn work. and purl back across the three stitches.

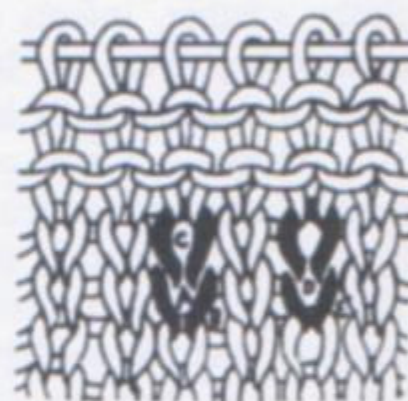
Turn work again and K3 tog. One popcorn made.

Continue with background color. Repeat popcorns as desired.

2. Crocheted Popcorn Knots: Worked after cap is knit. Use a #5 steel crochet hook and 15-inch lengths of brightly-colored yarns in the same weight as those in hat to be decorated. Make knots from left to right in every other stitch.

Hold yarn end to inside of cap at back of work. Insert hook in center of first stitch, and pull yarn through, leaving a 1-inch tail inside of cap.

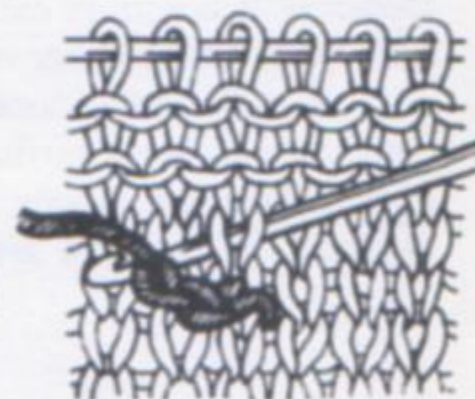
Hold the tail in place with your forefinger while you work the first popcorn stitch. Peruvian knitters do not knot these tails.



a

Insert hook from right to left in the next stitch (through B and A). Pull up a loop. Chain 2 and pull long end through last loop loosely.

Insert empty hook from right to left under stitch C. 7:L b. Hook yarn end and pull it all the way through under the stitch and out to the right.



7:L b

Reinsert empty hook from left to right through last chain loop; pull yarn end all the way through loop.

From underneath hat, insert hook up through original stitch (A), hook yarn and pull it all the way through to the inside.

For the next knot, skip a stitch and pull the yarn up in the middle of the next stitch (D). Repeat.

The chained stitches in the knots should round up into a neat little ball with the right amount of pull. It takes some practice! The back of the work will have a very regular look when the knots are done properly.



7:9 Earflap 4. Pitumarca, Peru.



7:10 Earflap 10. La Paz, Bolivia

Earflaps

Although men's caps without earflaps are traditional in a few villages most men's knit headgear typically has some sort of earflap. Caps with earflaps are worn almost exclusively by men and boys. Sometimes in chilly weather, infants of both sexes wear them. A mother may dress her baby girl in an older brother's cap, but ruffles usually identify a little girl.

Shapes and sizes of earflaps may vary greatly — round, large pointed triangles, curves wide enough to meet at the forehead, or a number of other shapes. The shapes and construction methods are distinctly regional, but the earflap stylistic regions cover much larger areas than the regions differentiated by motif and color. (See *Regional Characteristics*.)

For example, most knitters of northern Potosí Department construct earflaps one way; but the caps look very different because flaps and caps are knit with motifs and colors specific to their village communities. Some earflap techniques never appear in Peru, others are strictly Peruvian, and as might be expected, in the area around Lake Titicaca, similar

methods are used in both countries. Cap bodies are invariably knit on double-pointed needles in a circle, but the flaps may be knit back and forth on two needles, or in a triangle on three needles. *Patterns 9 and 10*.

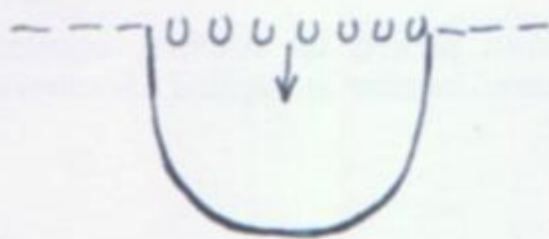
Knitters use a wonderful variety of ingenious methods to shape the different earflaps, employing some unusual shaping techniques. The flaps may be made separately and stitched onto the completed cap, or knit directly onto the body of the cap. In the villages on the southern shores of Lake Titicaca, flaps are knit first, and the stitches left on the needle. Then, other stitches are cast on between the flaps for the body of the cap.

Some flaps are made all in one piece, others are formed from two pieces sewn or knitted together. One popular method shown in *Pattern 9* begins with a strip knit with squares of different colors; stitches are picked up along one side of it and the flap is knit inward, shaped by double decreases at the center.

In the following pages, I have identified and provided a brief description of nineteen distinct earflap styles.

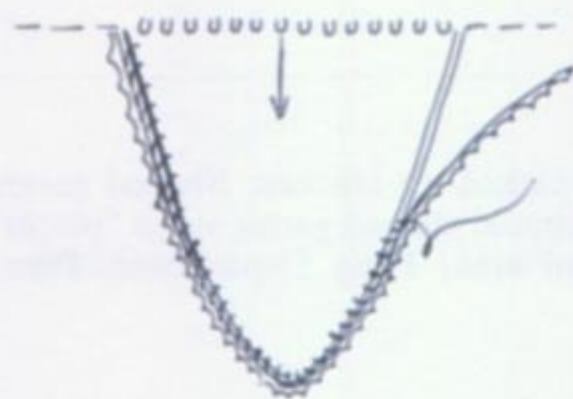


7:11-13 Three versions of Earflap 15. Left: northern Potosí Department, Bolivia. Center: Llallagua area, Bolivia. Right: northern Potosí Department, Bolivia, knit by Silverio Huanaco. Cap details shown in 4:11, Plate 39.



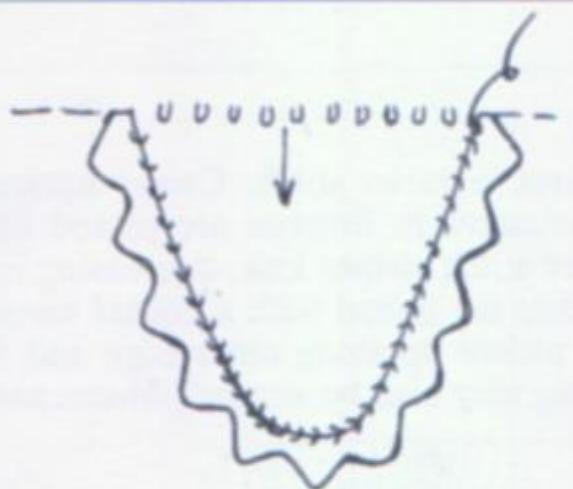
Earflap #1

Stockinette stitch flap knit on 2 needles from picked up stitches. Knit so that the purl side shows when flaps are down. Meant to be worn with the flaps flipped up so the right (knit) side shows. Always trimmed with woven bias binding. Huanavelica area, Peru. *Plate 4.*



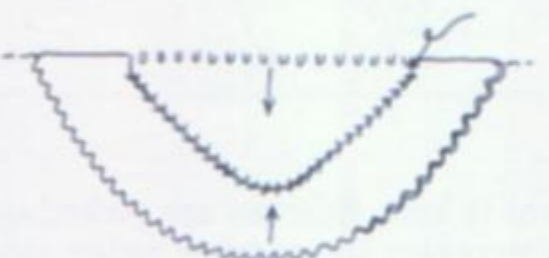
Earflap #2

Stockinette stitch flap knit from picked up stitches on 2 needles; shaped by regular edge decreases. A separate strip of tiny puntas is handsewn around the edge. May also be shaped like #4. Cuzco Department, Peru. This method, made with a rounder bottom and edged with a needlewoven ribete is used in Oruro Department, Bolivia. *Plate 12, Cap 7.*



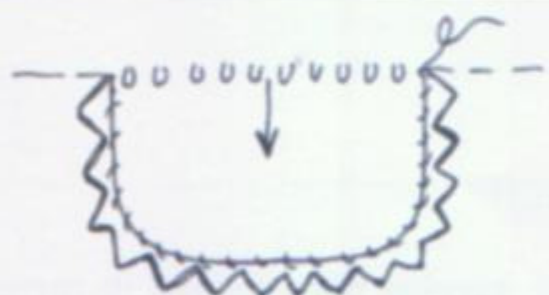
Earflap #3

A variation of #2. Central portion of flap is knit down from picked-up stitches. A separate strip of wide puntas is handsewn around the edge. Cuzco Department, Peru.



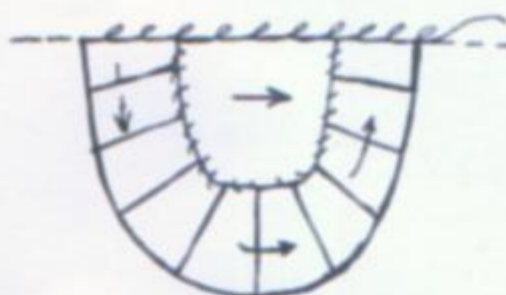
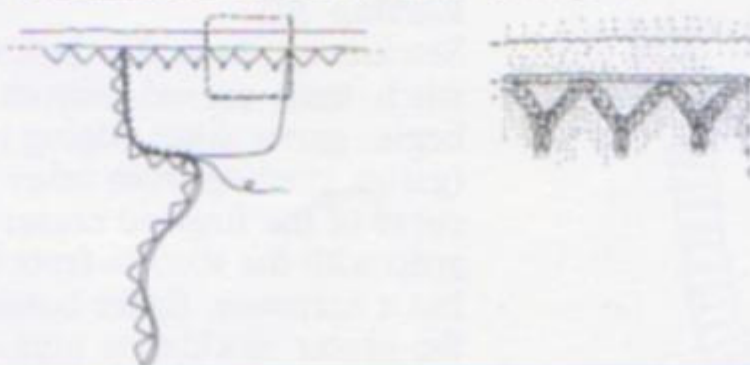
Earflap #4

Inner triangle knit on 2 needles starting at wide side and decreasing down to a point. Separately-knit border of puntas and garter stitch is hand-stitched onto edges of triangle. Pisac, Ccatca, Cuzco area, Peru. *Plate 6, cap 6; Pattern 10.*



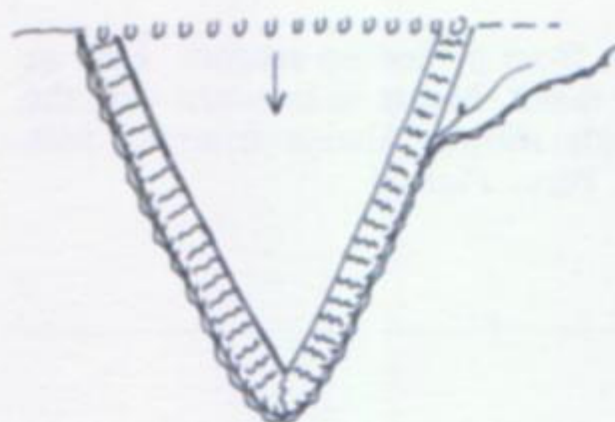
Earflap #5

Rectangular flap knit on 2 needles from picked up stitches at side of cap, under puntas. Several rows are knit, then puntas are applied in scallop fashion, catching the punta chained edge in with every 4th row or so of the earflap. Pitumarca area, Peru. *Plate 6, cap 4.*



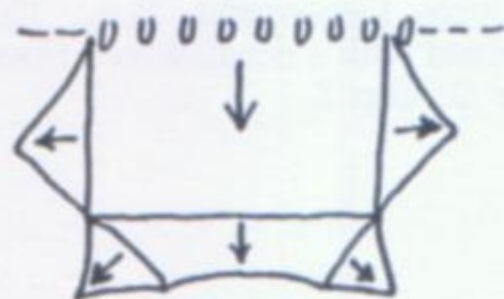
Earflap #6

Garter stitch rectangle is sewn to cap with rows placed vertically. A straight strip of garter stitch squares is sewn around the edges. Pitumarca area, Peru.



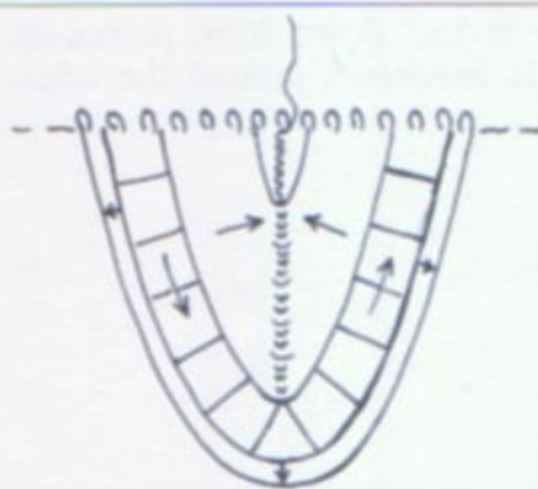
Earflap #7

Stockinette triangle knit on 2 needles from picked up stitches, regular decreases in center. Separately-knit checkered border is applied. Southern Cuzco Department, Peru. *Plate 6, cap 10.*



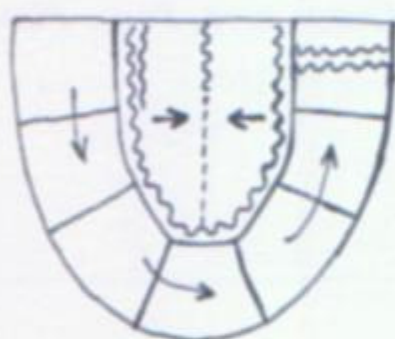
Earflap #8

Stockinette stitch flap knit down from picked up stitches. Shaped garter stitch border knit at bottom of flap. Additional shaped garter stitch "points" picked up and knit along sides. Sicuani area, Puno Department, Peru. *Plate 6.*



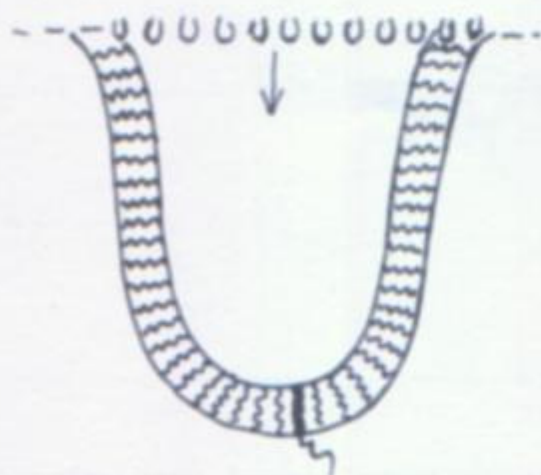
Earflap #9

Begun with a strip of multi-colored squares in garter stitch. Center square in the strip is shaped with short rows to curve it. Stitches are picked up along the short side of the strip and garter stitch stripes knit, decreasing in center every row to fill in. Last few stitches are joined with a knitted seam or dovetail join. Additional Stitches are picked up along outer edge and 4 garter stitch rows knit. A crocheted edging may also be worked. Huancané area, southern Lake Titicaca, Peru.



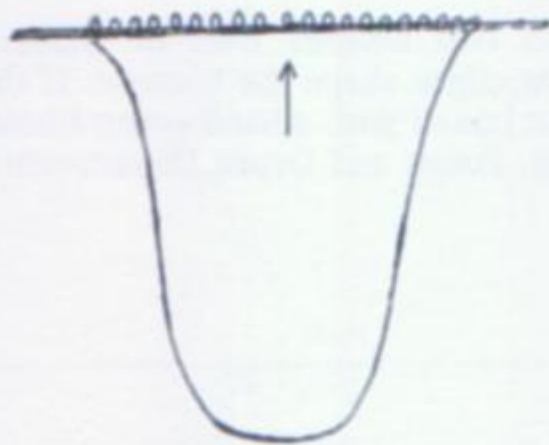
Earflap #10

A strip of multicolored garter stitch squares is knit. Stitches are picked up along one edge and knit in garter stitch. Decreases are made on either side of 2 center stitches every row. Last few stitches are joined with a center seam. Sometimes two rows of squares make up the edge strip on flaps 9 and 10. Huancané, Peru to La Paz, Bolivia. *Pattern 9.*



Earflap #11

Stockinette stitch flap knit with 2 needles, keeping edge stitches in garter stitch until curved bottom is shaped. When bottom shaping decreases begin, garter stitch edging is continued as a separate strip on one side only (garther stitched from other side placed on holder) and sewn around the curve of the finished center flap. A seam joins the ends of the garter stitch strip with the stitches from the other side. The shape varies and sometimes has a narrower, flatter bottom. Beaded or colored motifs are often knit into the center stockinette area. Puno, Southern Lake Titicaca area, Peru and Bolivia; Achacachi and La Paz, Bolivia.



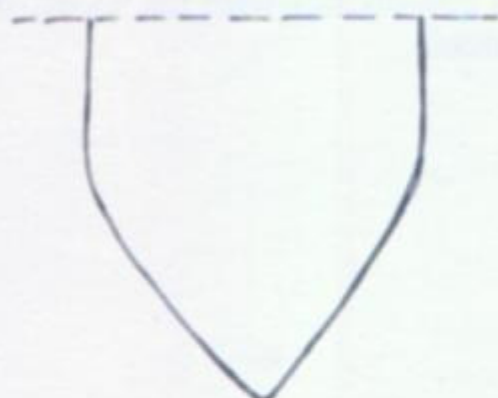
Earflap #12

Stockinette stitch flap knit on 2 needles starting at bottom and increased upward. Additional stitches cast on between flaps for cap. Method used for some beaded caps from southern end of Lake Titicaca. *Plate 8, cap 3.*



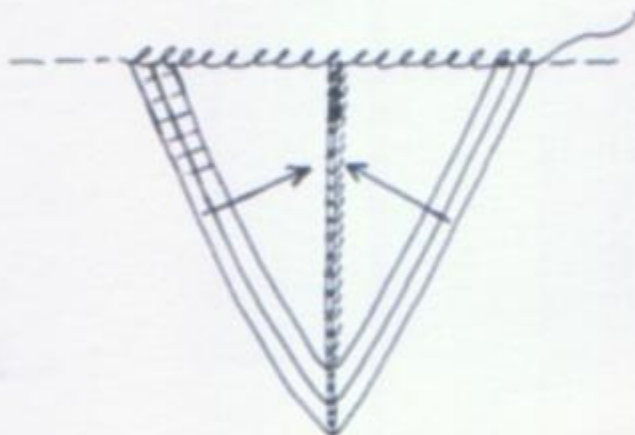
Earflap #13

Knit on 2 needles with central lobe in a different color added separately. Found only on schoolgirls' caps from La Paz, Bolivia.



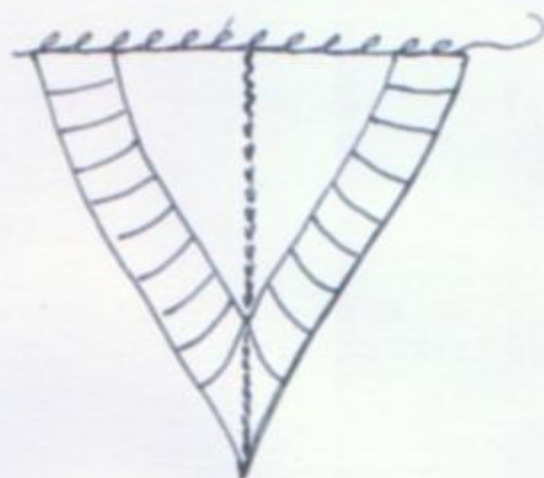
Earflap #14

Garter stitch flap knit from top with edges shaped by regular decreases down to the point. It is not known whether flaps are knit first or later. Bolivia, probably Aroma. *Plate 10, cap 8.*



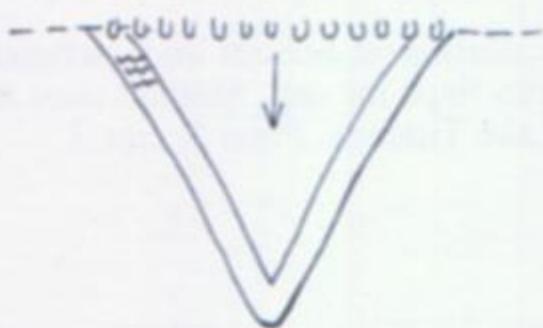
Earflap #15

Stockinette stitch flap with garter stitch border and accents knit separately with 3 needles and hand or machine-sewn onto cap. Knitting begins at the point with the garter stitch border, and proceeds upward with 2 center decreases on each row. This type of flap has a checkered garter stitch border and a band of motifs in stockinette stitch. *Pattern 9.* Common in Bolivia, especially Potosí Department..



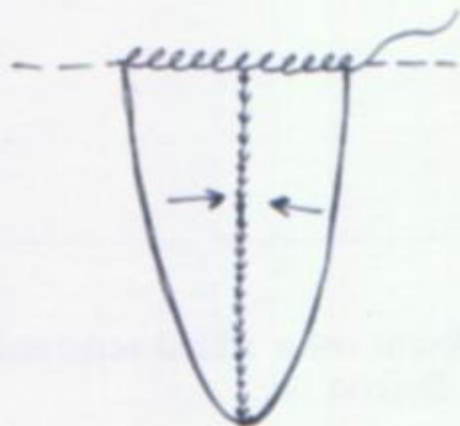
Earflap #16

Very unusual flap, combination of #9 and #15. Begun with a border strip of garter stitch multicolored squares. Center square has short-row shaping to form a diamond or lozenge shape. Stitches are picked up along short side of border and knit around in garter stitch stripes, keeping a double decrease in the center on every row. Potolo, Bolivia. *Plate 11, cap 9.*



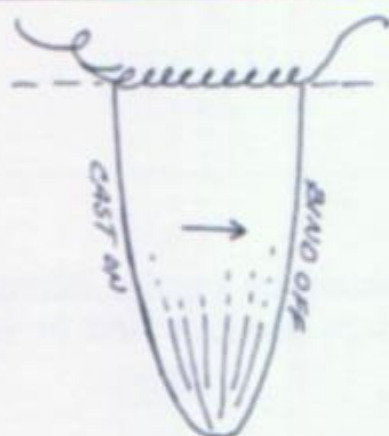
Earflap #17

Stockinette stitch earflap knit down on two needles with or without garter stitch edging. Regular decreases at edges shape the triangle. If the garter stitch edging is not used, it is often bound with a handwoven ribete, or tubular edging to keep it from rolling. Potosí and Oruro Departments, Bolivia.



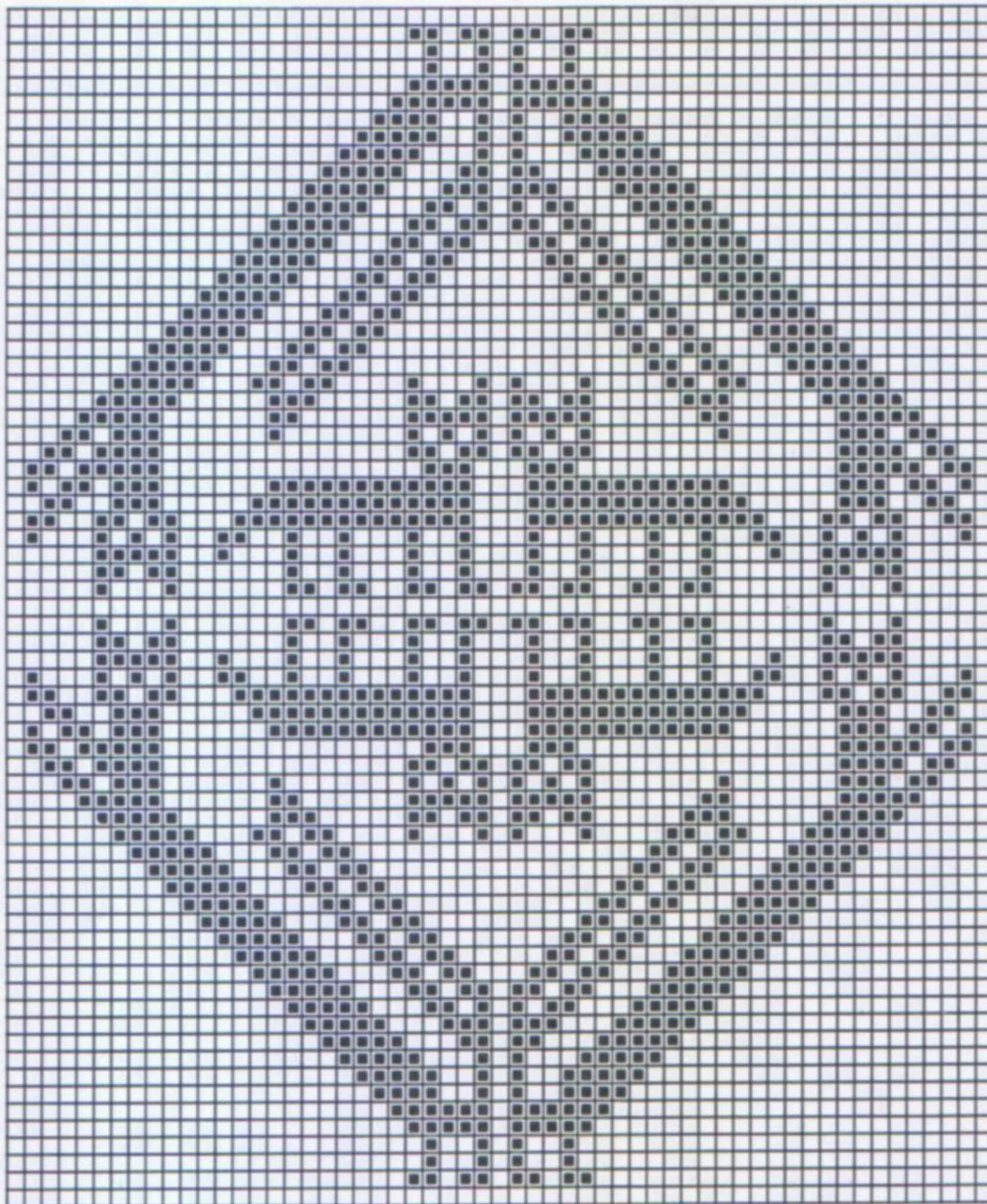
Earflap #18

Garter stitch flap knit separately with 3 needles and sewn onto cap. Double decreases at center every other row form the narrow shape. Motifs are worked sideways so they appear upright. Chayanta, Potosí Department, Bolivia.

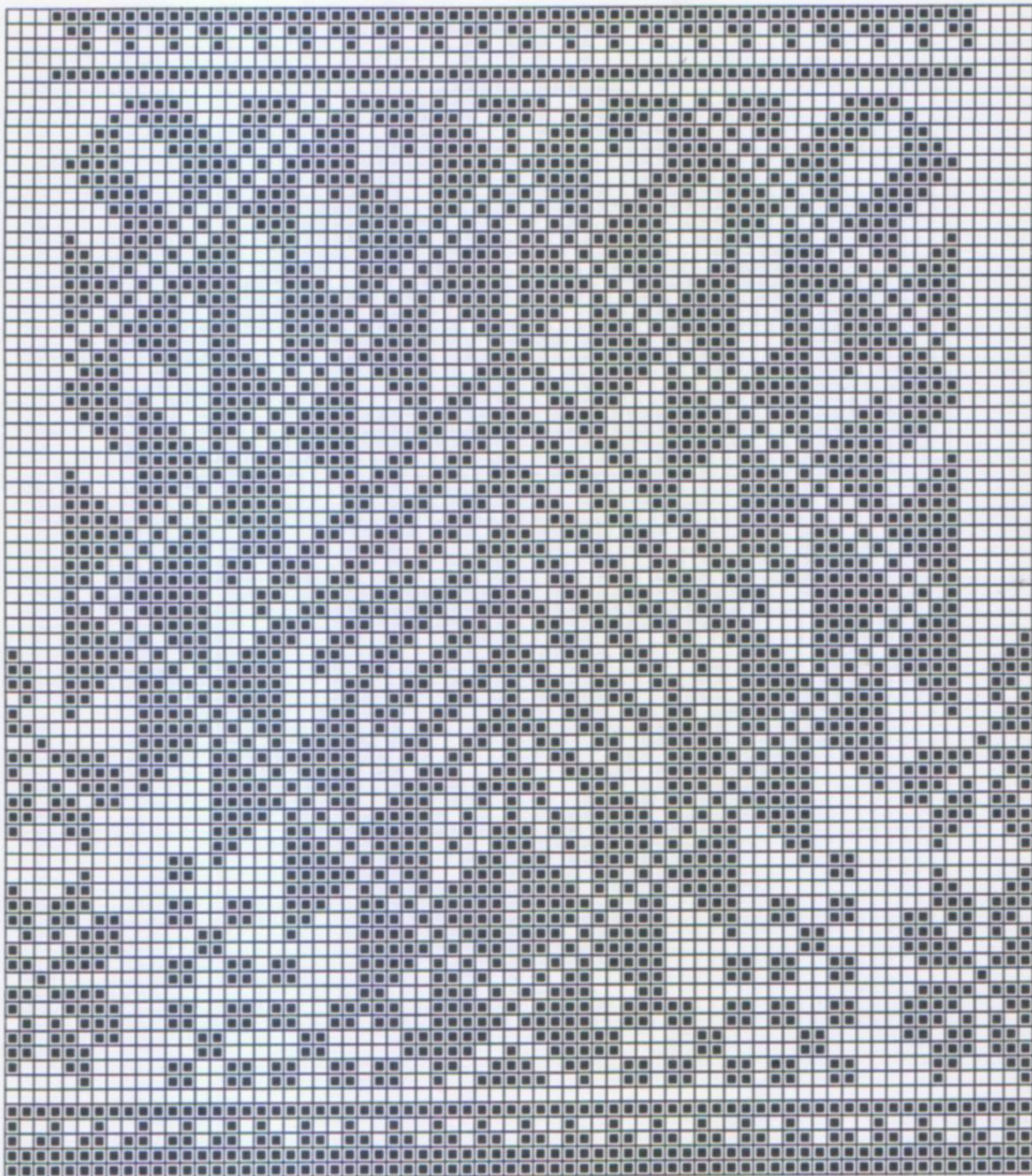


Earflap #19

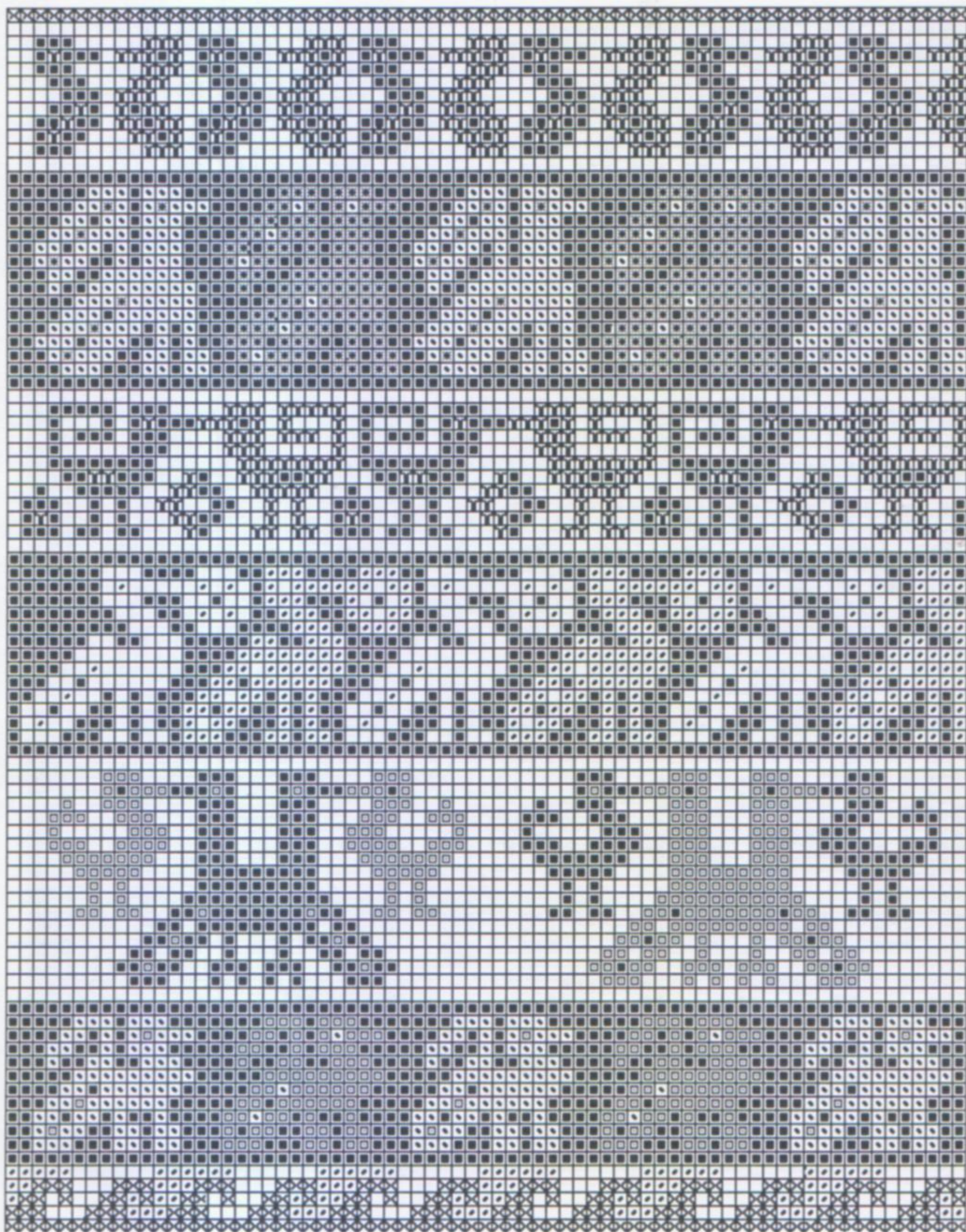
Garter stitch flap knit on 2 needles with short rows at one end to shape the point. Finished flaps are hand sewn to cap. This unusual flap often features a "toothed" border and sideways motifs necessitating complex knitting maneuvers to maintain the design in conjunction with the short-row shaping. Bolivia, Potosí and Oruro Departments.



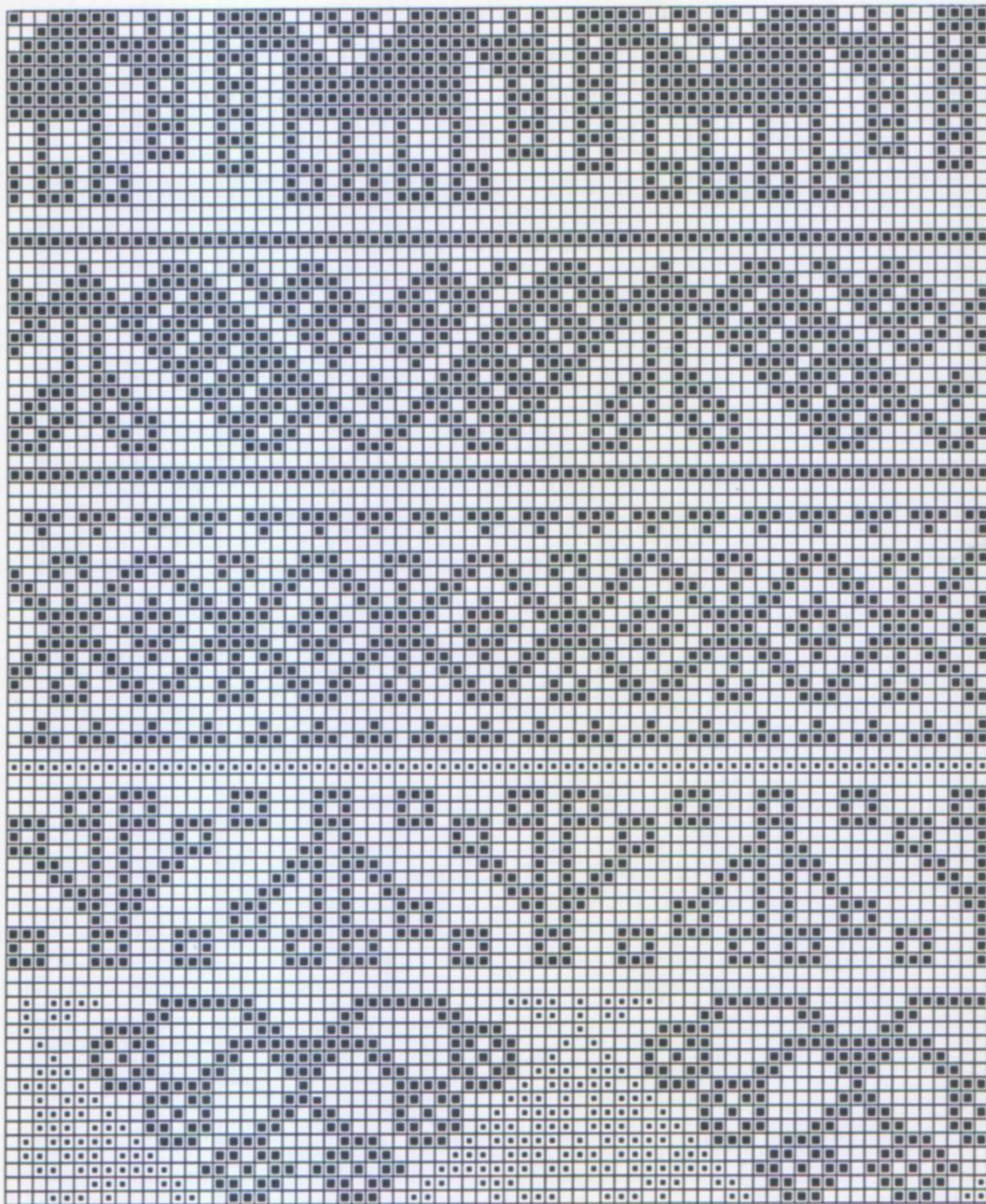
Graph 1 *Huancavelica, Peru. Zorro, or fox motif.*



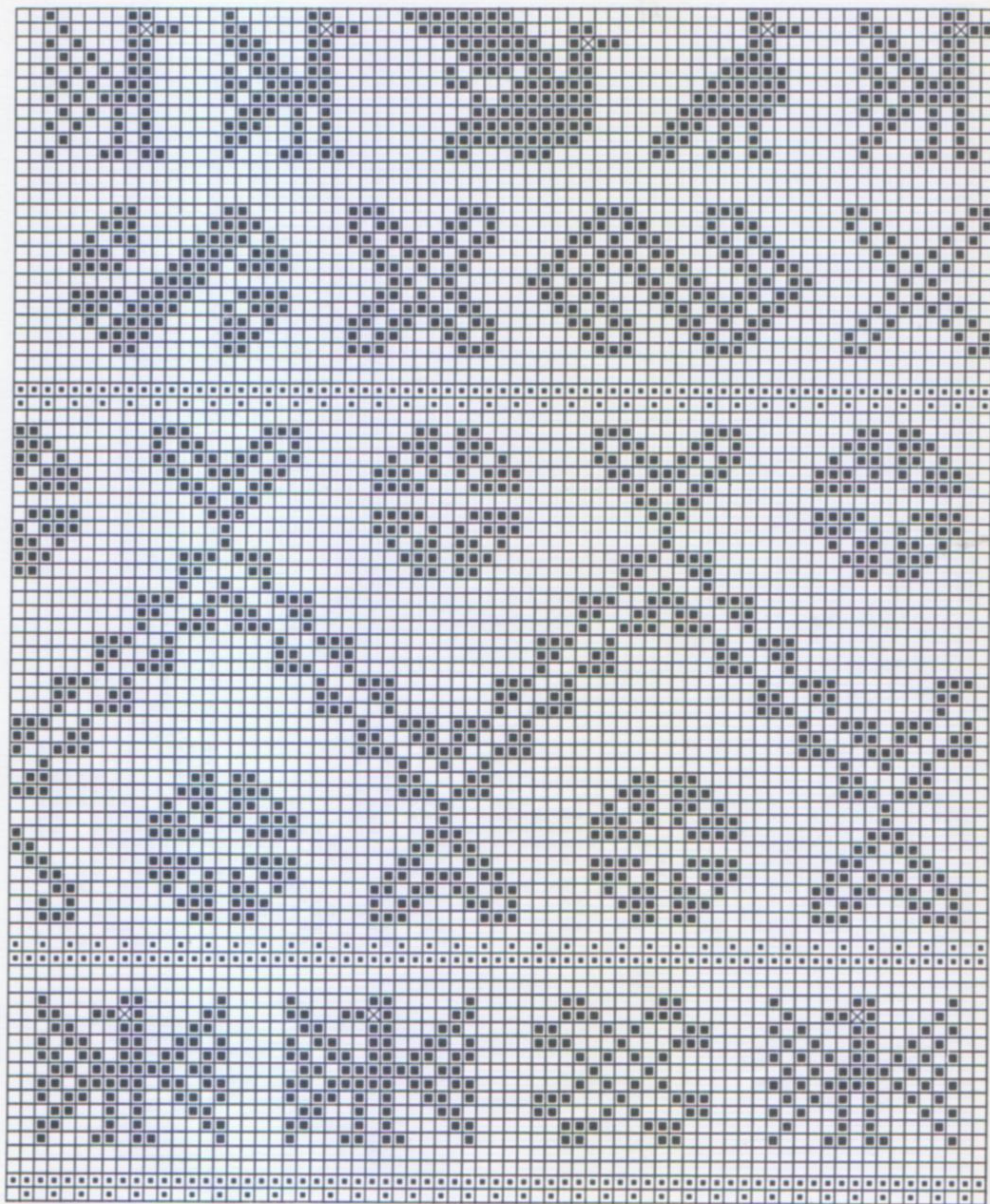
Graph 2 *Huancavelica, Peru. Ccocha or lago (Lake) motif.*



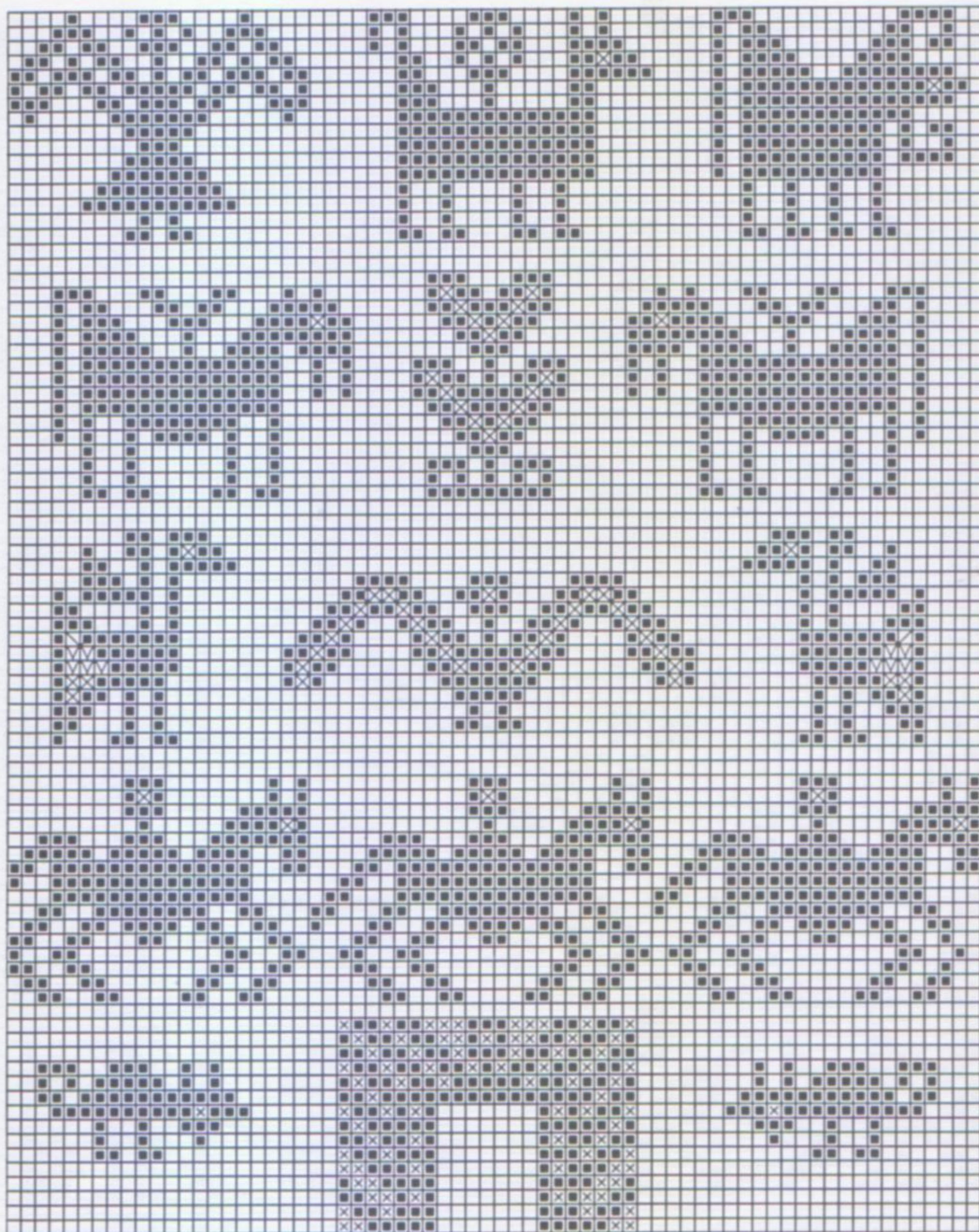
Graph 3 Chinchero, Peru. Motifs from 2-legged purse shown in Plate 5, #2.



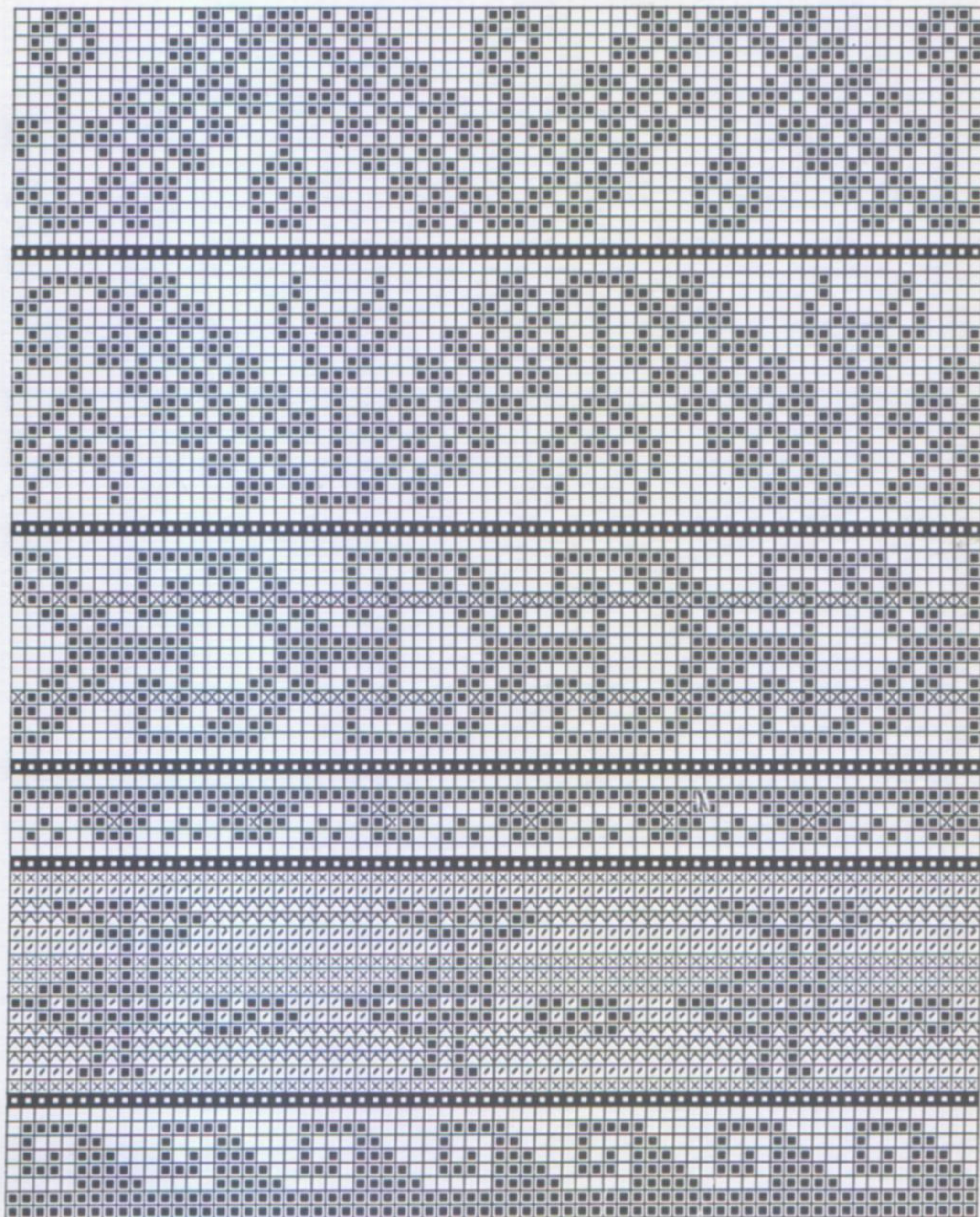
Graph 4 *Pitumarca, Peru.*



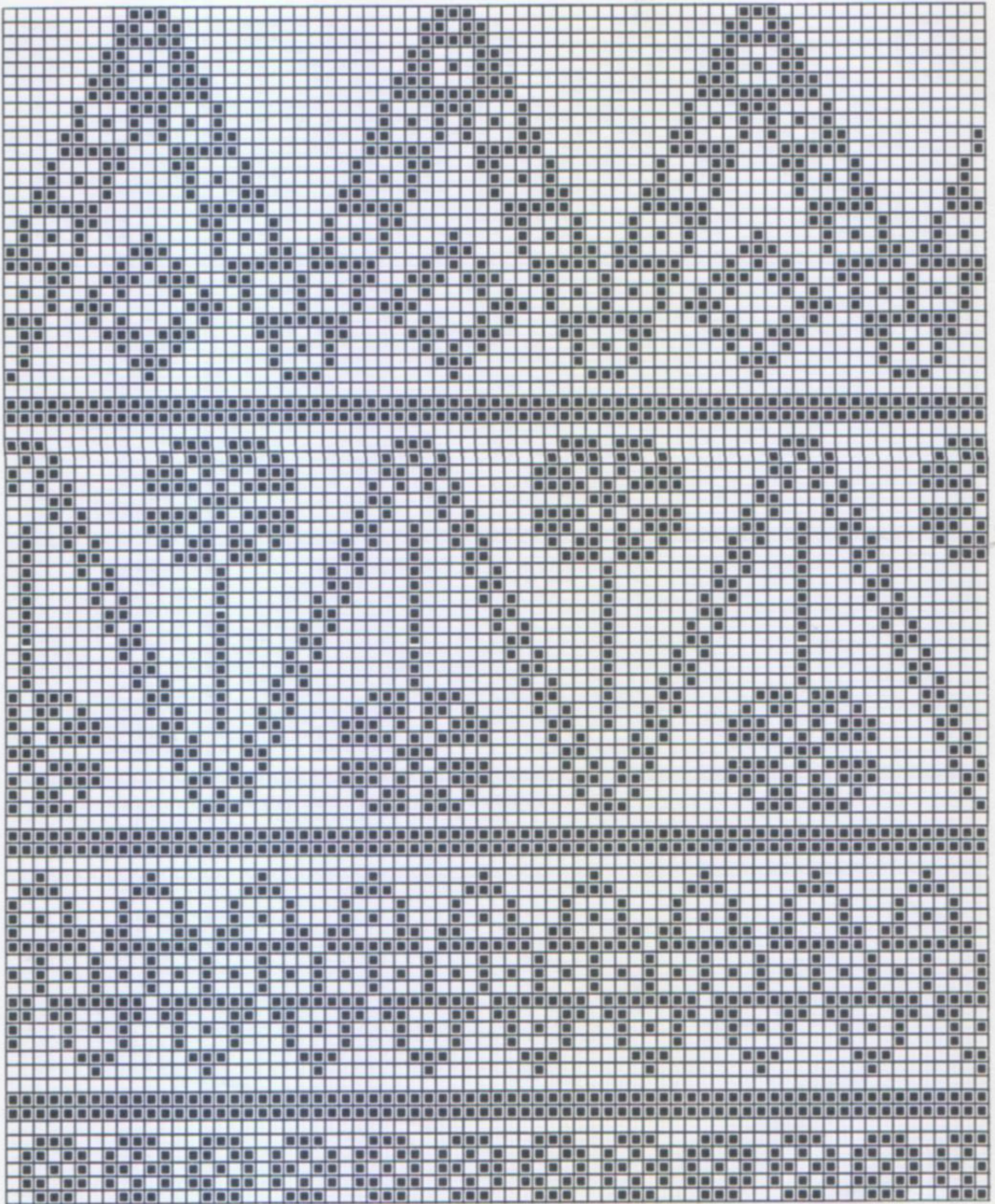
Graph 5 *Taquile Island, Peru.*



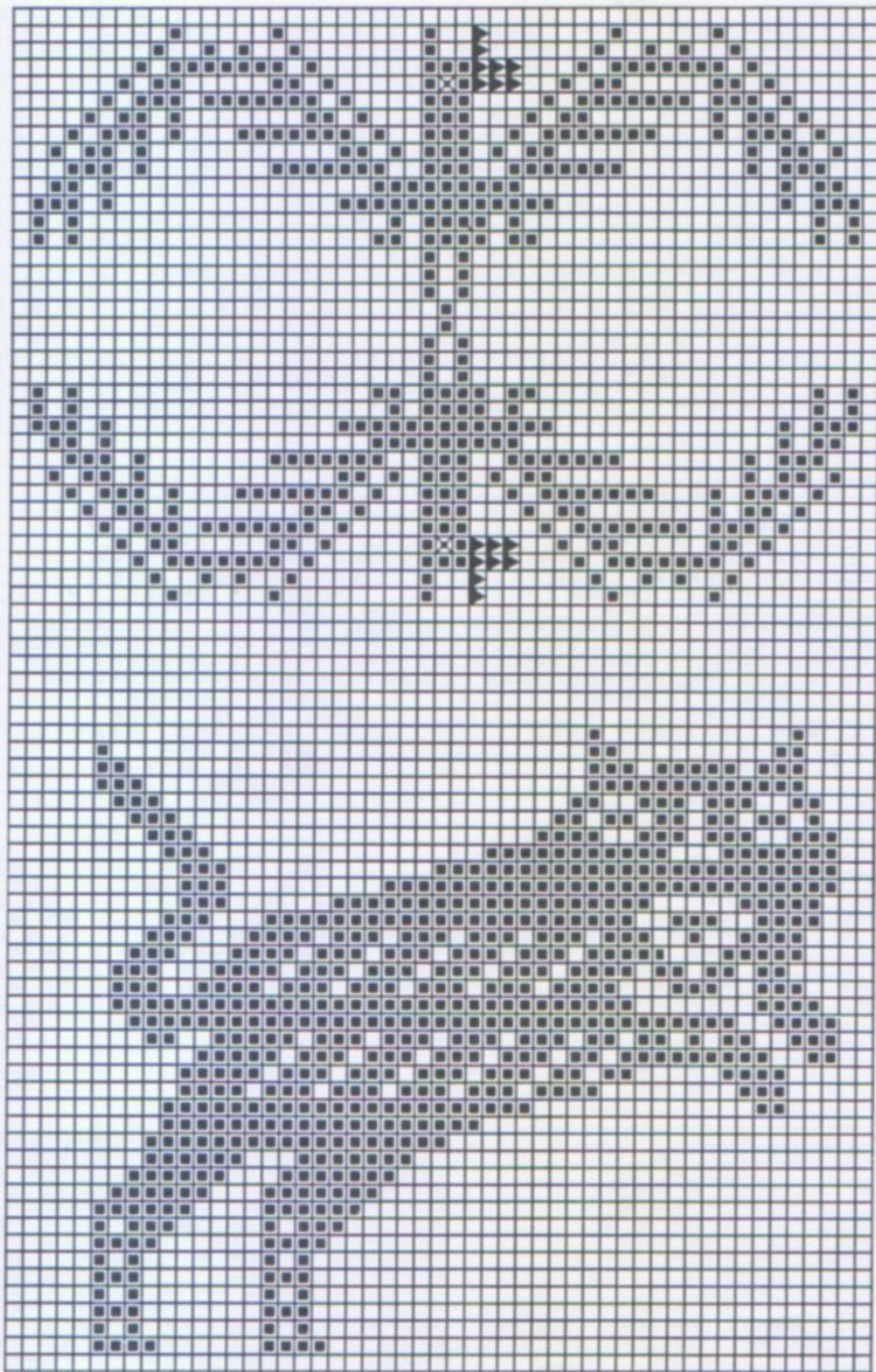
Graph 6 Calamarca, Bolivia. Tiahuanaco gateway motif is shown at center of bottom row.



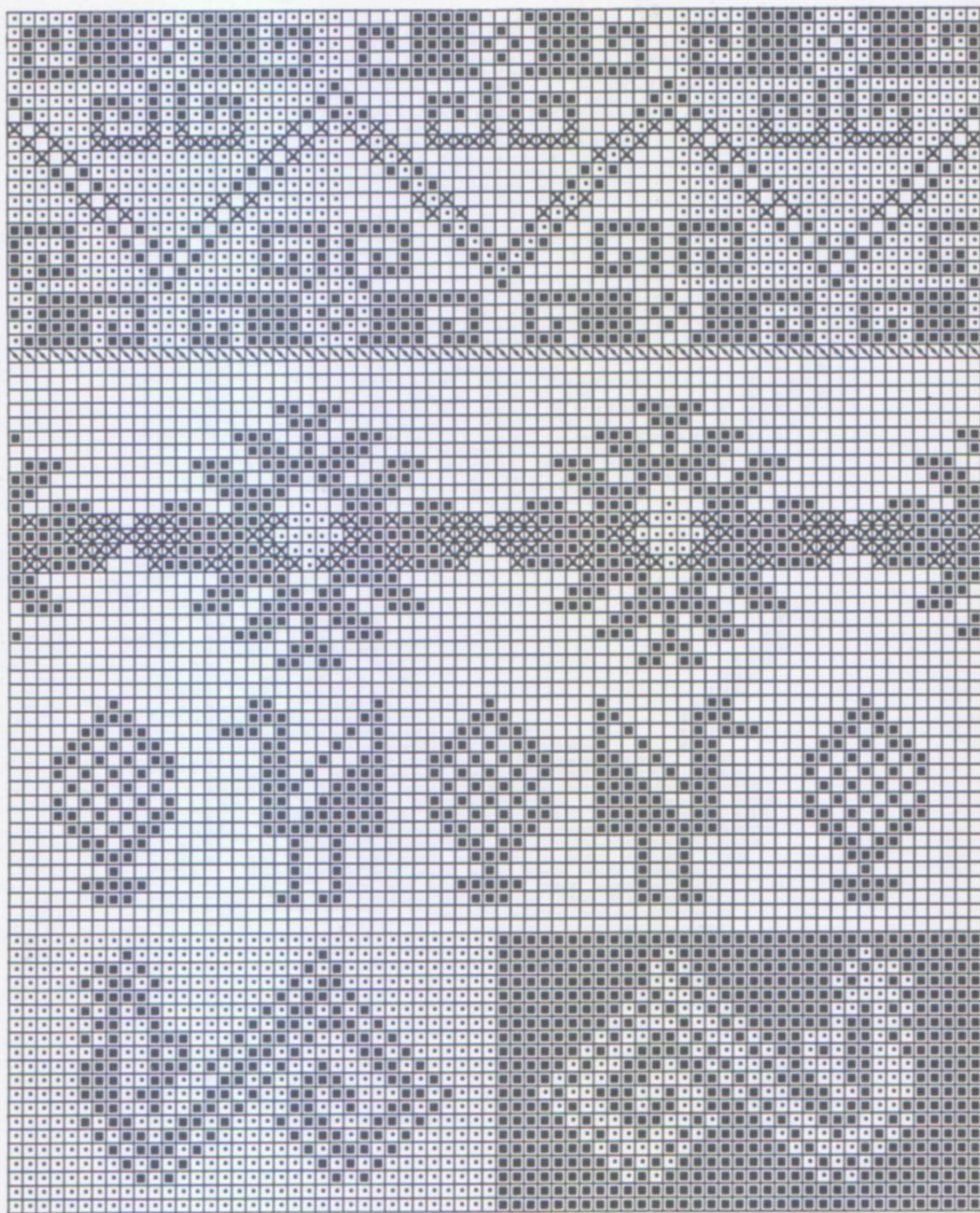
Graph 7 *Potolo (top two rows) and Calamarca, Bolivia.*



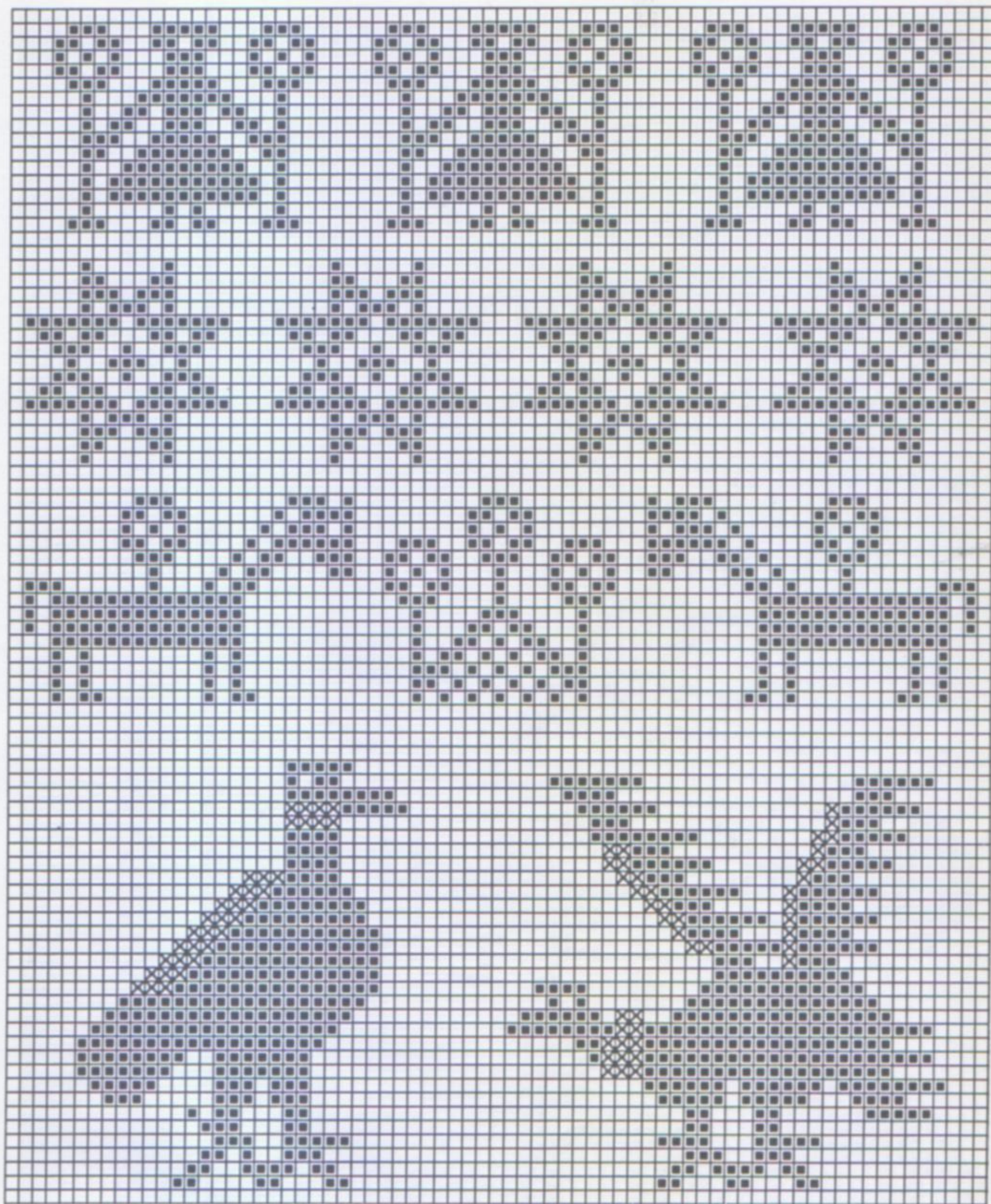
Graph 8 *Potolo, Bolivia.*



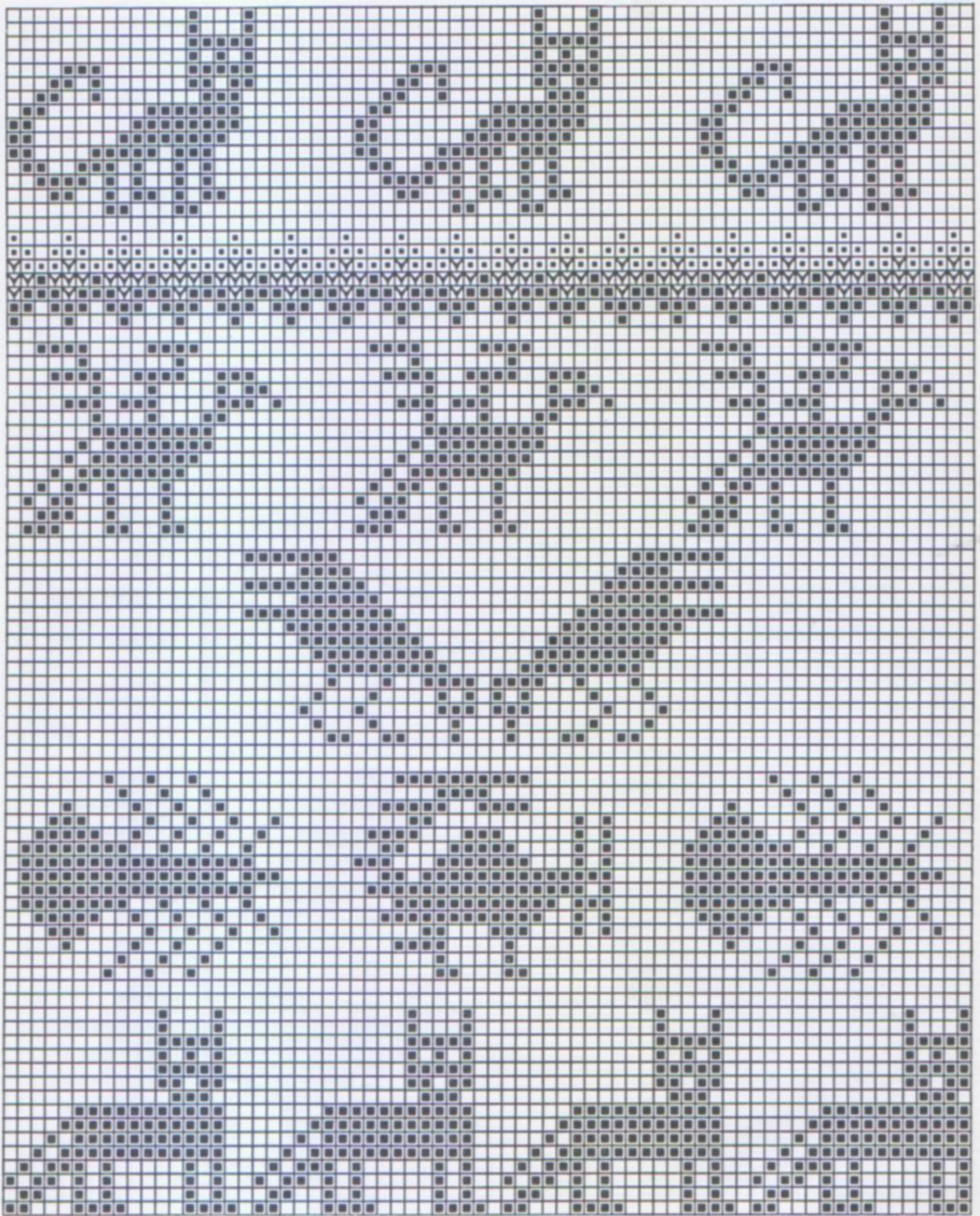
Graph 9 *Bolivar, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia.*



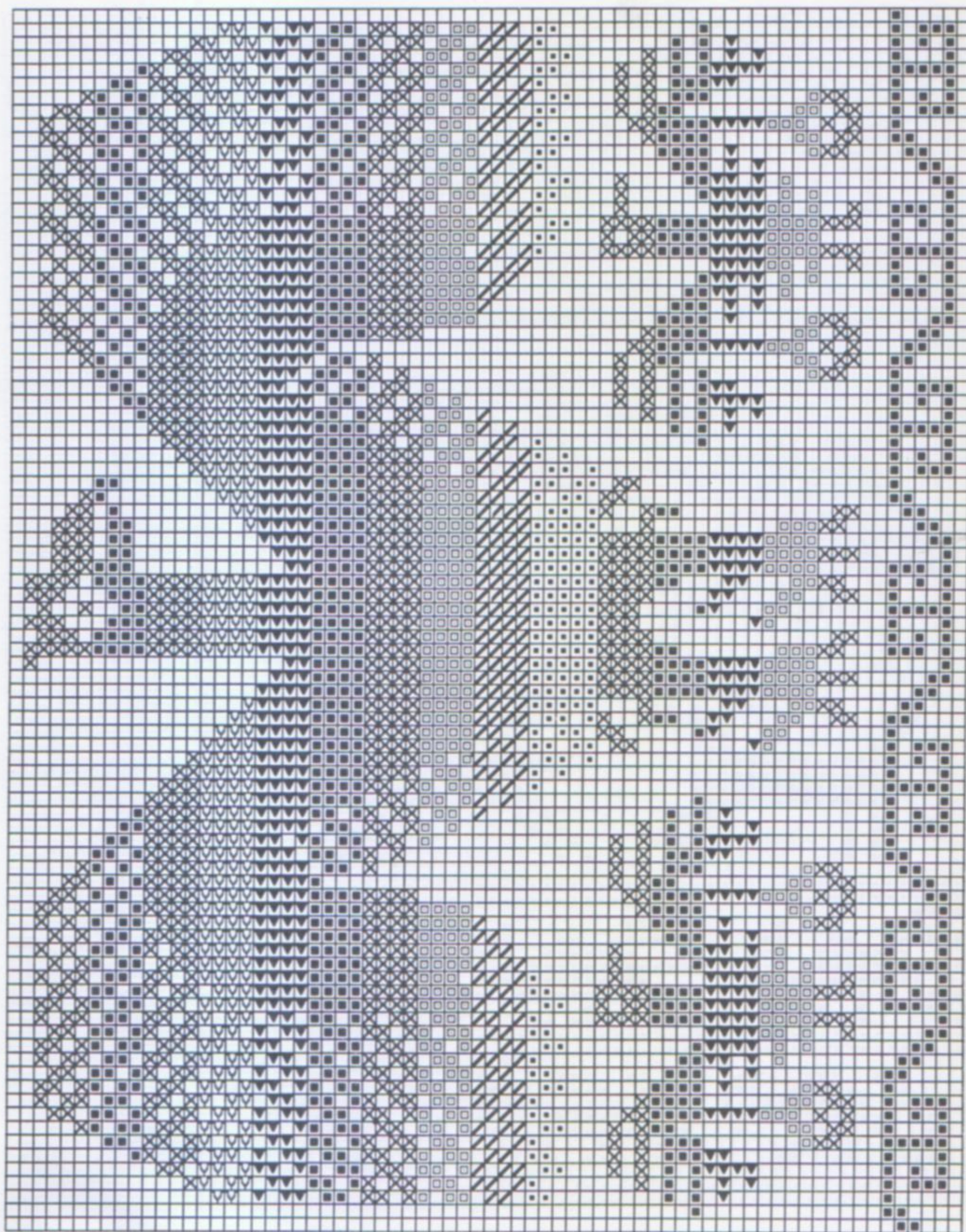
Graph 10 Challa, Bolivia. Bottom row: K'urti style snake motif.



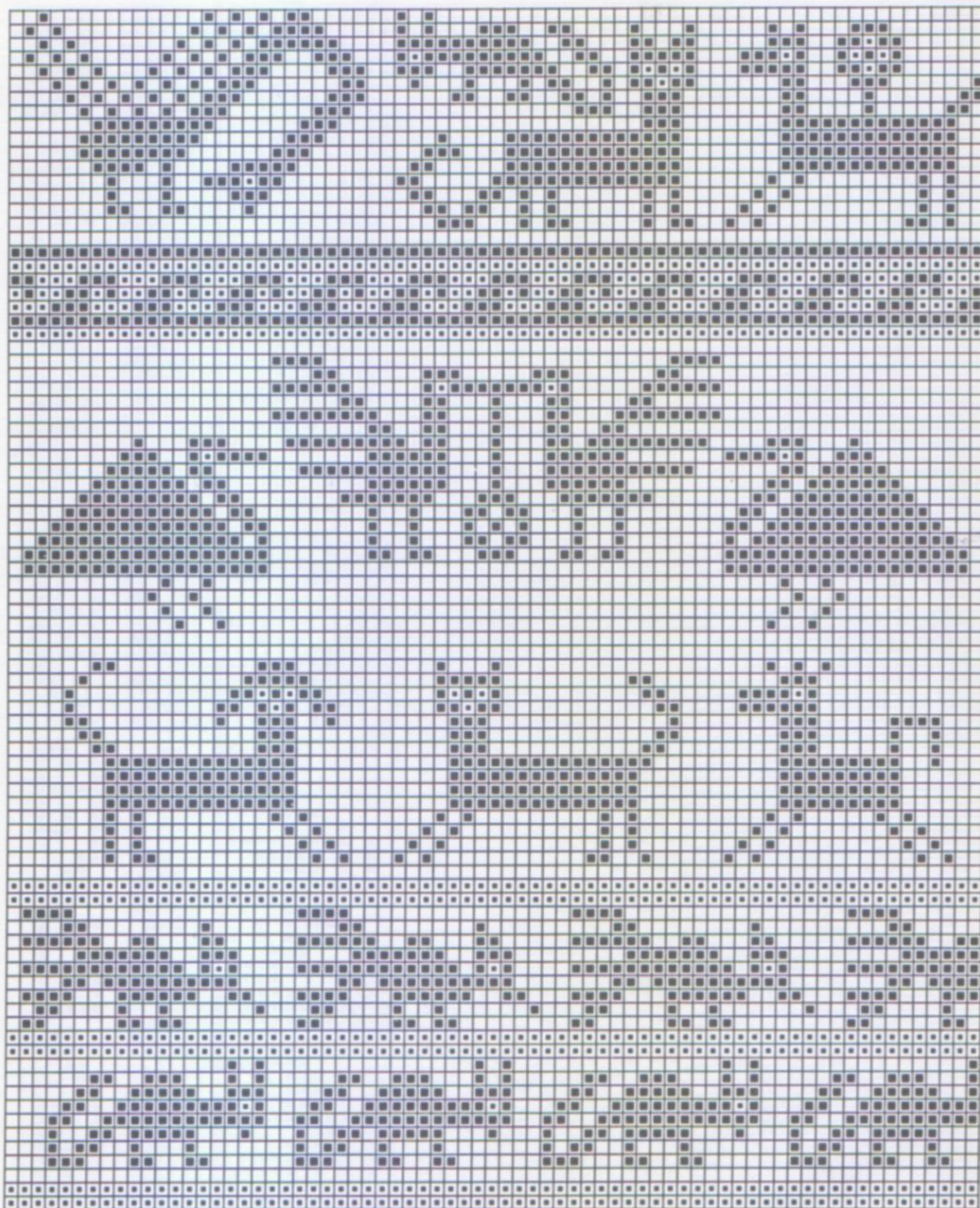
Graph 11 *Top: Pocoata, Bolivia. Bottom: Oruro, Bolivia, condors.*



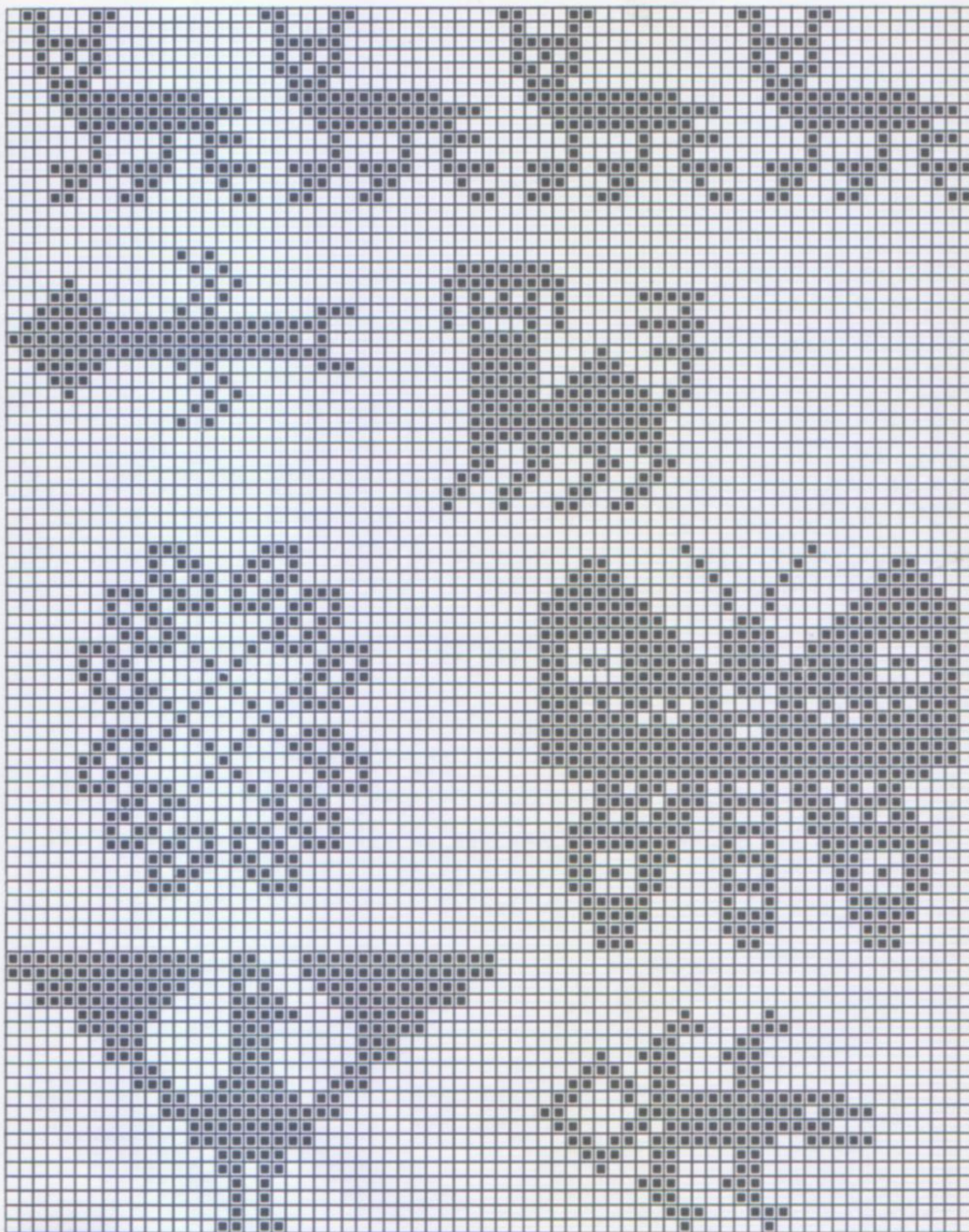
Graph 12 *CalaCala, Bolivia.*



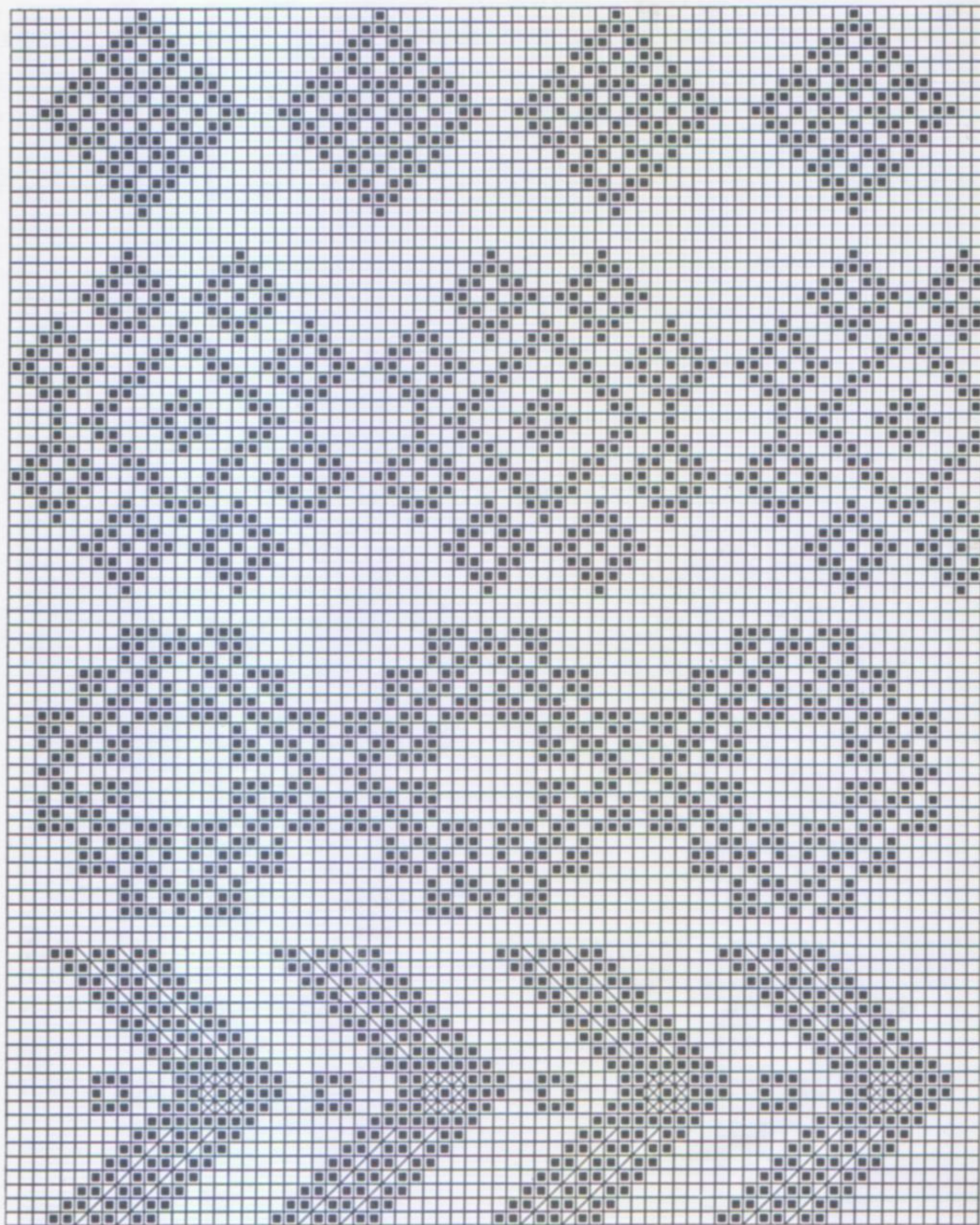
Graph 13 *CalaCala, Bolivia.*



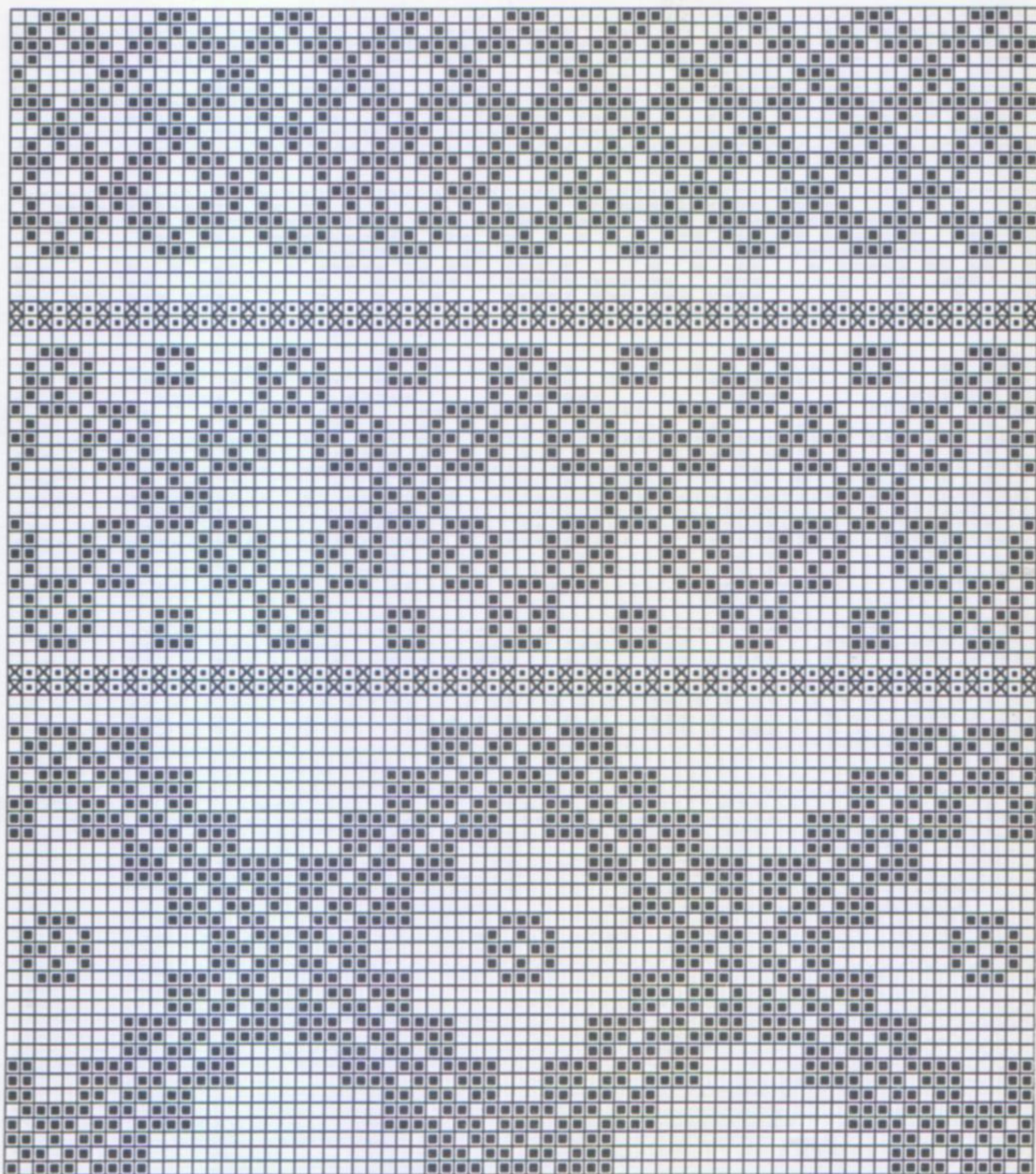
Graph 14 *Bustillos, northern Potosí Department, Bolivia.*



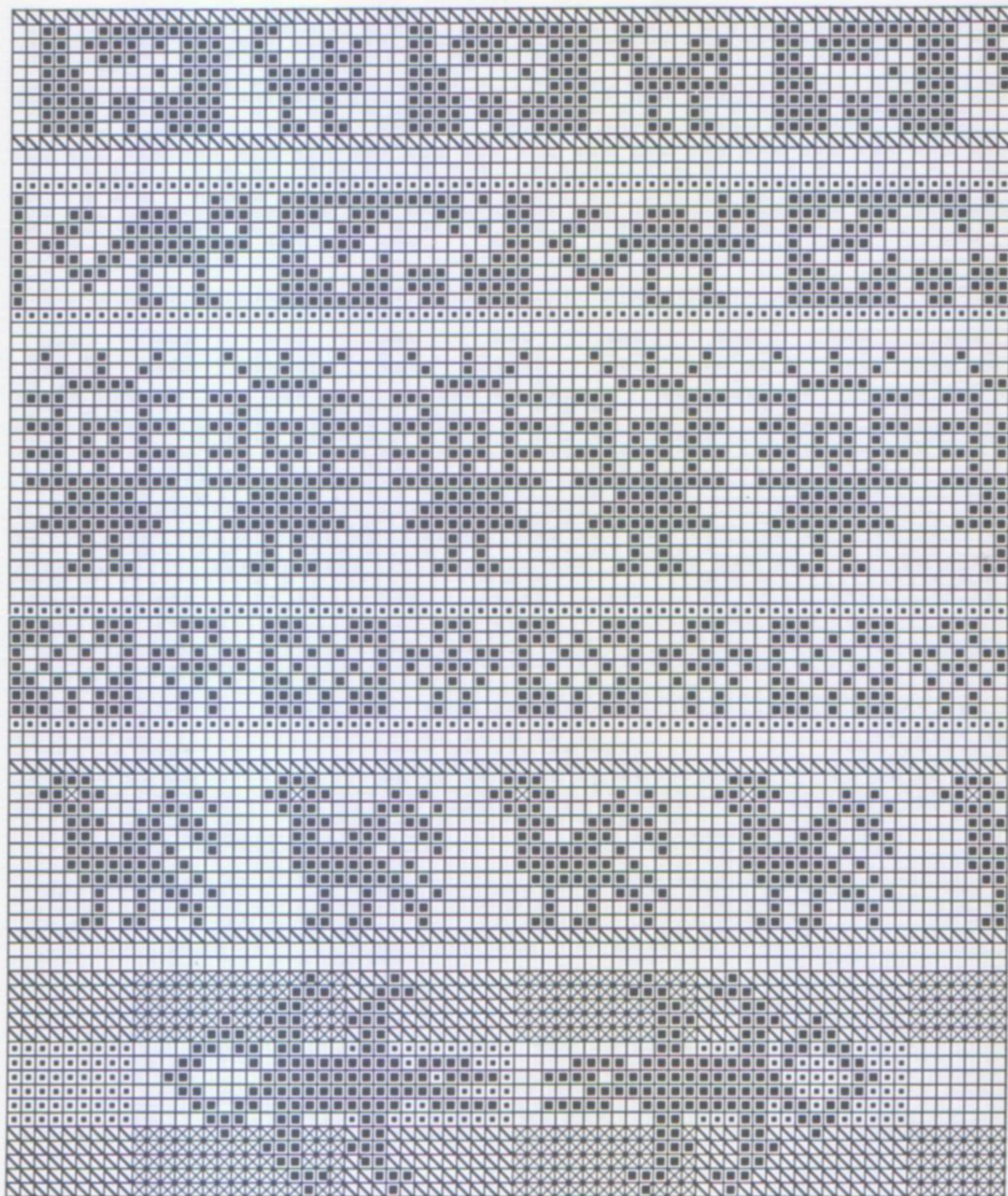
Graph 15 Top row: Potosí Department, Bolivia, Top rows: motifs from hat shown in 5:20. Center: Pitumarca, Peru, flower and butterfly. Bottom: LaPaz Department, Bolivia, Achacachi bird, scorpion.



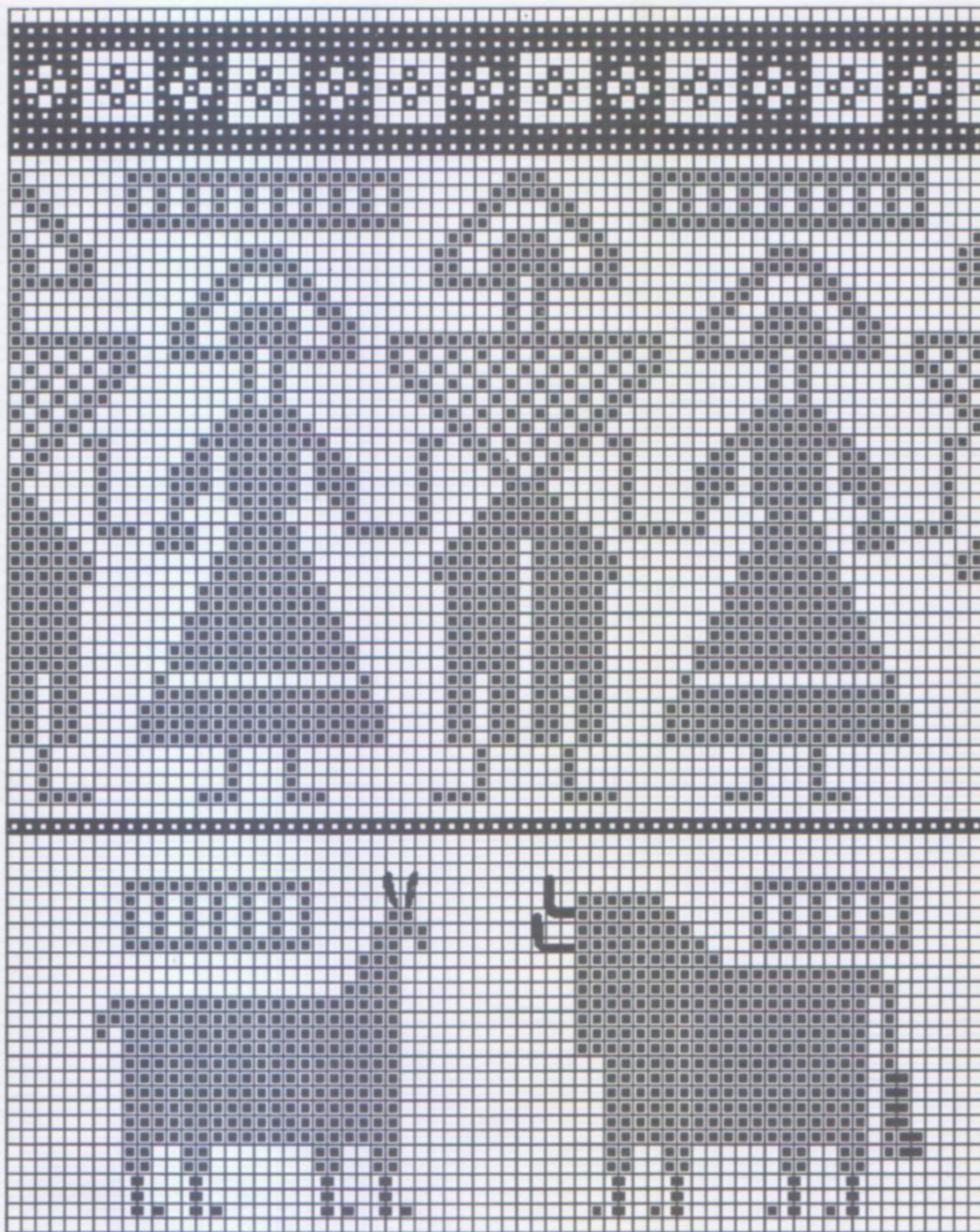
Graph 16 *Macha, Bolivia.*



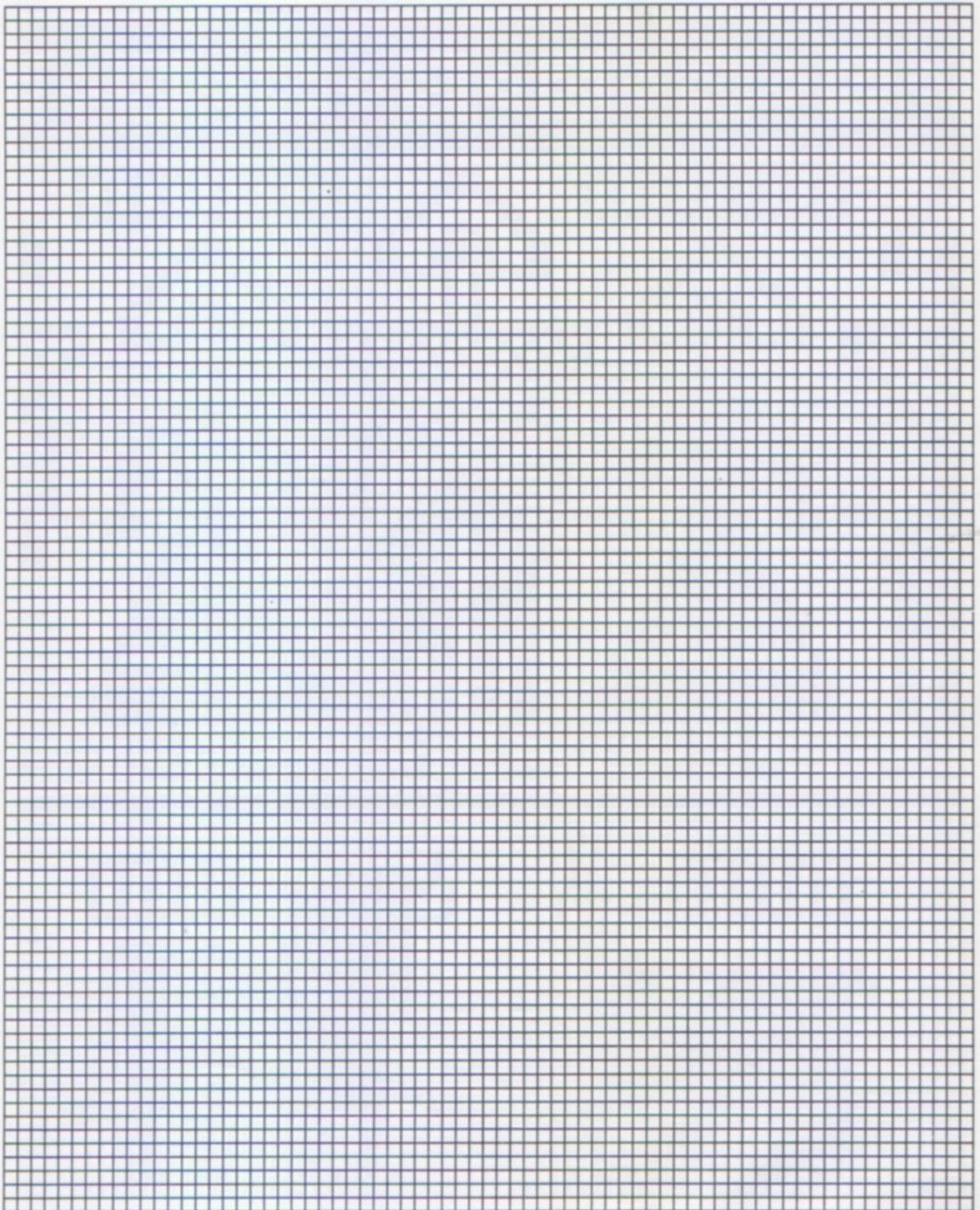
Graph 17 *Sucre, Bolivia.*

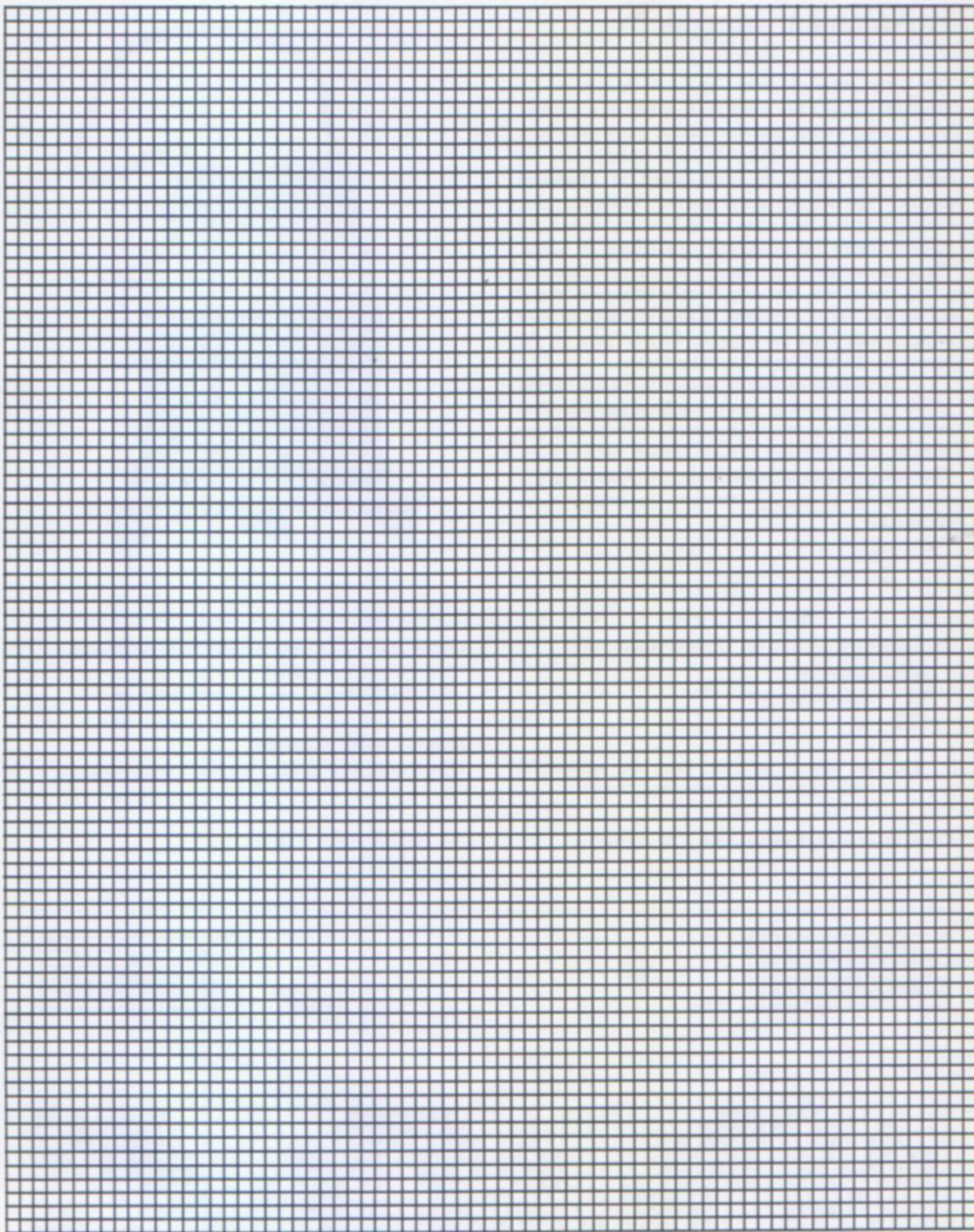


Graph 18 *Chayanta, Bolivia. Third row: dancers or chunchos.*



Graph 19 *Bolivian Altiplano motifs from coca bag shown in Plate 9, bag 6. Legs on animals are shaped by knitting 2 stitches together. Bull's tail has increases to shape it. Ears and horns are embroidered.*





1. Amantani Monedero

This little purse is from Amantani Island on the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca. It is knit as a cylinder from bottom to top, and is closed at the bottom with three-strand warp twining in three colors. Or, the bottom edge could be handstitched or crocheted together. The original purse has red, white and navy twining and a woven strap of plain weave with a dot pattern formed by alternating two colors of warps. These narrow straps are usually woven by children on a "toe loom," with the warp threads tensioned around the big toe. For non-weavers, a strap could be braided using strands of the purse yarns. Tassels finish off the lower edge in traditional Amantani fashion.

The oblique openwork pattern in the top section of this purse is unusual. Marcelina Mamaní, who lives in the *Incatiana* sector of the island, knit the example at right. She calls this flexible netlike stitch *rejilla*. The small sections of color in the two bottom stripes are worked in *zigzag intarsia*, as explained in *Techniques*.



Yarns: Wool yarn (Group B), 25 grams of each color:

- natural tan
- carmine/deep red
- navy

- For accent: hot pink, black and emerald, or colors of your choice, several yards each.

Needles: One set of #5 double-pointed steel needles size 00, or size required to knit gauge.

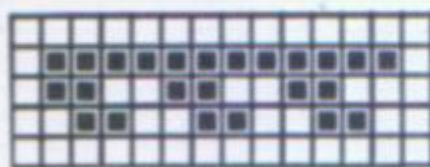
1 pair single-pointed needles, size 1 for casting on.

Gauge: 23 stitches = 2 inches.

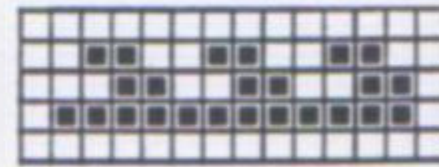
Gauge is not critical. A larger gauge will result in a larger bag.

Colors for each graph are indicated in the instructions.

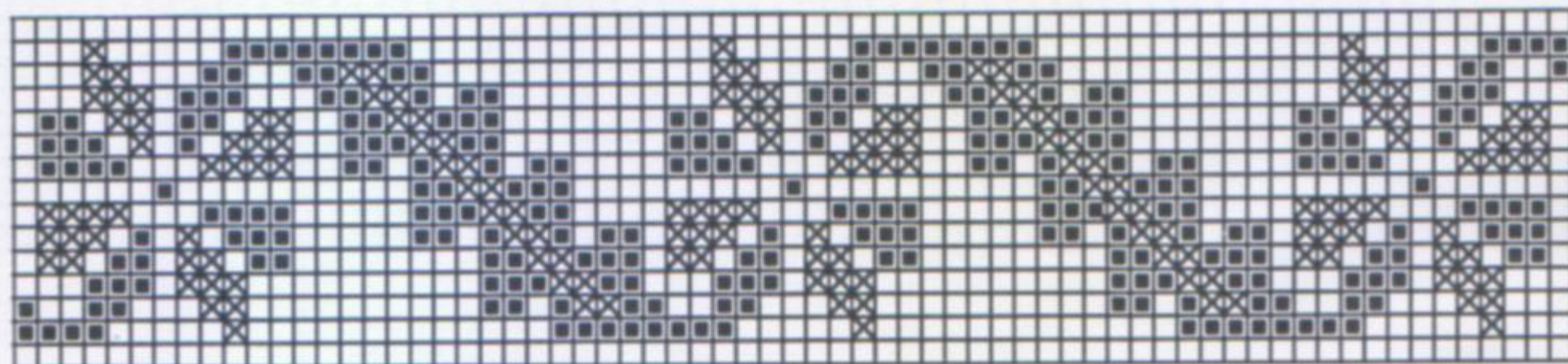
Size: Approx. 6¼ x 8 inches.



Graph A



Graph E



Graph B

Instructions

Bag: With single-pointed needles and tan yarn, cast on 136 stitches. Divide stitches onto 4 double-pointed needles, 34 per needle (See *Techniques*).

Join, being careful not to twist any stitches. Place a gold pin marker at the join. Knit 7 rounds with tan.

Move marker up and work *Graph A* with tan and navy.

Break off tan. Knit 2 rounds navy.

Tie in carmine and knit 2 rounds carmine, decreasing 1 stitch. (K2 tog.) at the end of last round just before marker. (135 stitches.)

Work *Graph B*, beginning at the marker as indicated, for 13 rounds, moving marker up as you knit.

Knit 2 rounds carmine (end of carmine background on bottom stripe) and 2 rounds navy (beginning of navy background for next section), increasing 1 stitch at the end of last round. (136 stitches.)

Work *Graph C* starting at marker. Repeat motif four times for 4 birds and 4 flowers around with 3 background stitches between each one.

Knit 2 rounds navy.

Knit 2 rounds carmine to begin the next band.

Begin *Graph D*. On the first round, work from point x to point y 7 times. Place a silver marker.

Work from point y to point z over these last 10 stitches. (To utilize the 136 stitches, this part of the design will be irregular, exactly as on the original — a very Andean solution!)

Continue with *Graph D*, changing from carmine to navy background after 6 more carmine rounds (7 carmine rounds total).

Knit 2 rounds navy.

Knit 2 rounds carmine.

Work *Graph E* with tan and carmine.

Knit 1 round with tan, decreasing 16 stitches evenly spaced around (4 per needle). (126 stitches.)

Openwork Top: Begin rejilla. Reverse direction so that you are working from the inside of the bag.

At the marker, *K2 tog., YO (from back to front)* Continue around, repeating this sequence for a left-slanting pattern.

After one inch, begin the two-round decreases to shape top.

Decrease round 1: at the marker, *K2 tog., K2 tog., YO,* continue in pattern (K2 tog., YO) halfway around. Repeat the decrease at second marker and finish the round in pattern.

Decrease round 2: At first (gold) marker, **K the next 2 tog., slip the YO,** continue around in pattern to second marker and repeat the ** to ** decrease. (112 stitches.)

Knit 7 pattern rounds, then repeat the two decrease rounds, placing them a quarter-turn around the purse. (108 stitches.)

Knit 7 more pattern rounds, repeat the two decrease rounds, placing decreases at the markers. (104 stitches.)

Continue in pattern on 104 stitches until rejilla section measures 3 1/2 inches.

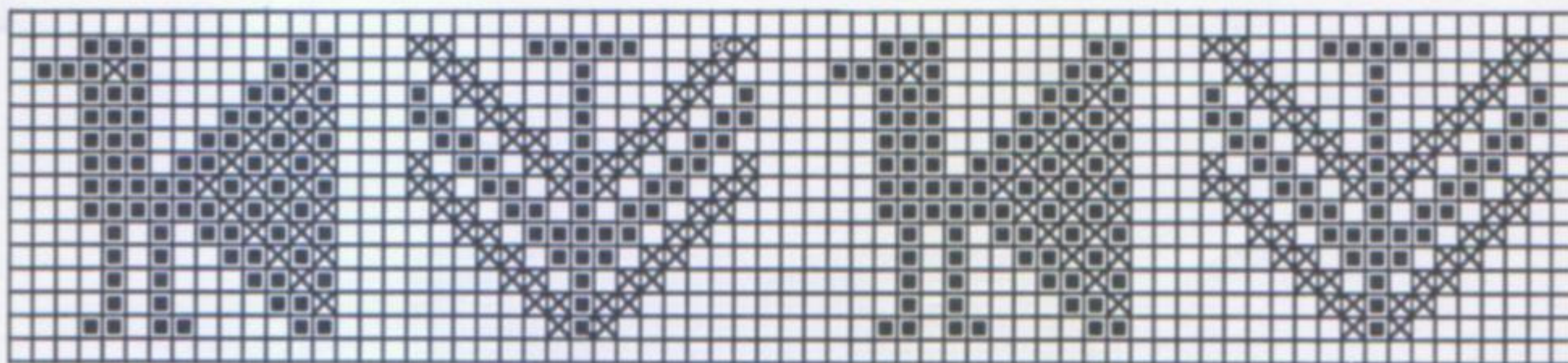
Work two rounds in stockinette stitch. Bind off all stitches.

Attach a woven or braided strap at each marker.

Plain Finish: Pin the bottom edges together. With tan wool and a large-eyed sewing needle, carefully overstretch the edges together as invisibly as possible, or single crochet the edges together using a small steel crochet hook.

Twined Border: To add the optional decorative twined edging, stitch the edges together as above. The twining is accomplished most easily and neatly if the bottom seam is held down firmly.

Pin the purse to a piece of Celotex or heavy cardboard (8 x 12 inches or larger). For the example I cut a slot the size of the seam (approx. 1/4 inch by 7 inches) in a piece of cardboard and pinned the purse base into



Graph C

it, the top hanging down below the cardboard. This method works well because the edge exposed for twining is perpendicular to the work surface. *Fig. 1.*

Thread a large-eyed needle with a 24-inch length of tan yarn.

Cut six lengths each of navy, carmine and white, twice the length of the edge to be bound — approximately 14 inches.

Arrange the strands of each color together and tie them all together about an inch from one end.

Place this tie on the purse edge farthest from you and overstretch the end securely, forming a little tuft of tricolor yarns.

Do not break off the tan yarn. It becomes the weft for the twining.

Divide the strands of color into thirds, keeping lengths of each color together. Pull red and white strands toward the top of the board, away from you, and pull navy toward you without crossing them over the edge. *Fig. 2.*

Begin with tan yarn exiting work to left of tuft.

Stitch down the navy with one pass of weft, bringing yarn to right over on top of navy, inserting needle from right to left, about 1/4 inch from edge. Pull yarn taut to hold navy down securely. *Fig. 3*

Bring the red strands to the front, pulling the navy and white away from you.

Pinch the red strands together in position and stitch them down bringing the tan yarn over the red and stitching into the edge, inserting the needle about 1/8 inch from the last stitch. *Fig. 4.*

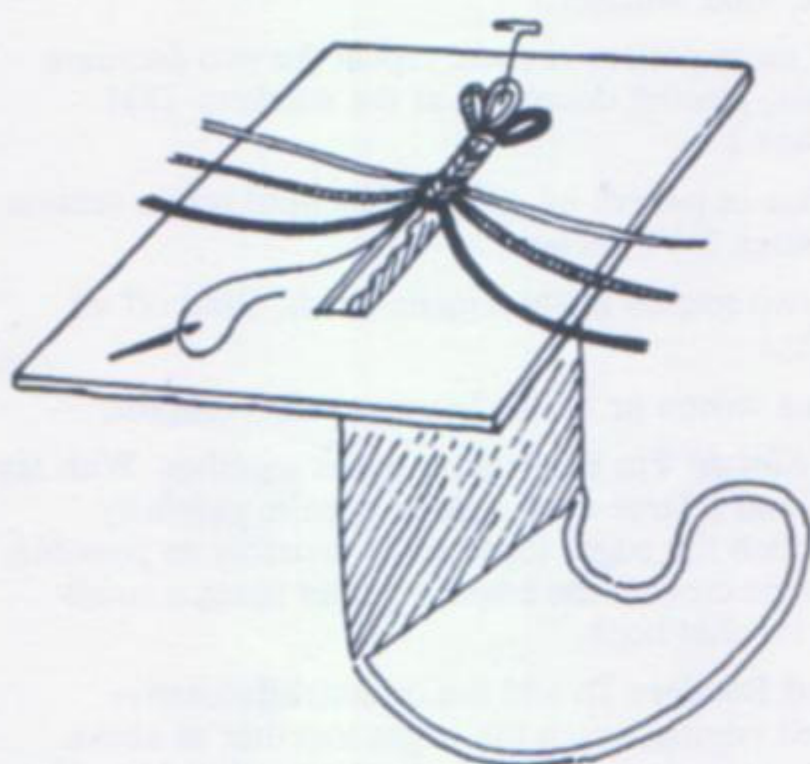


Figure 1

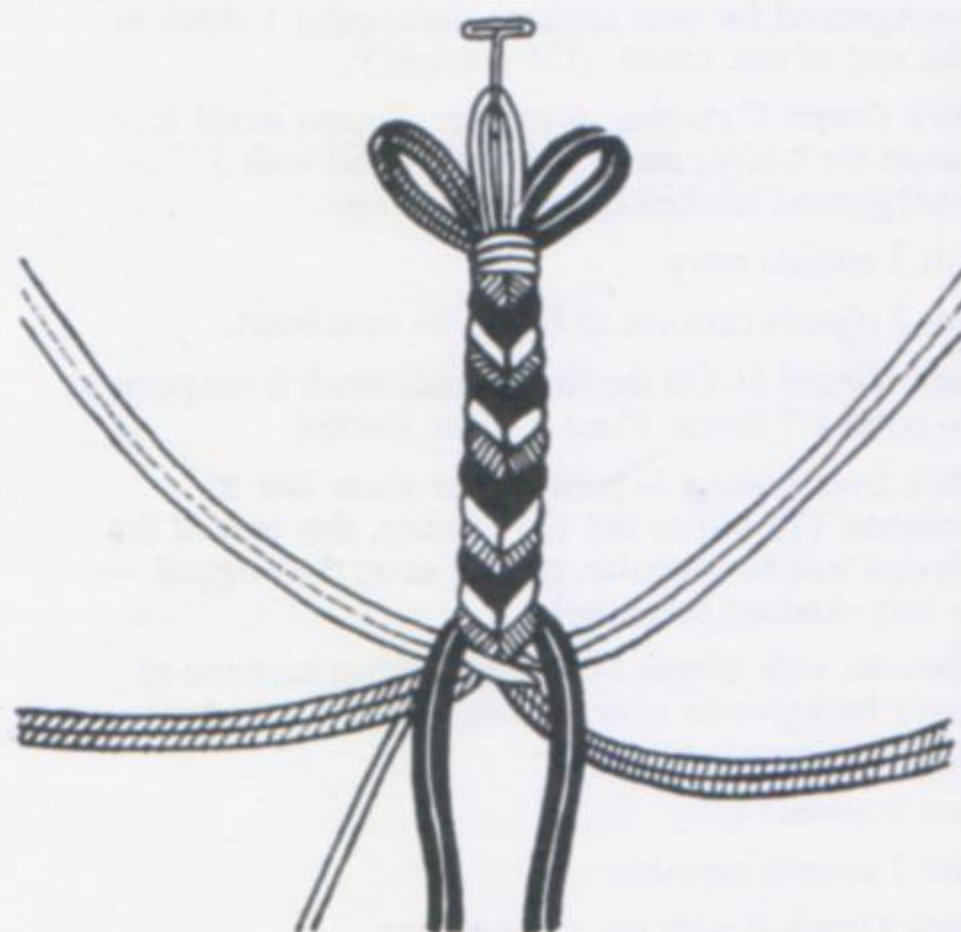
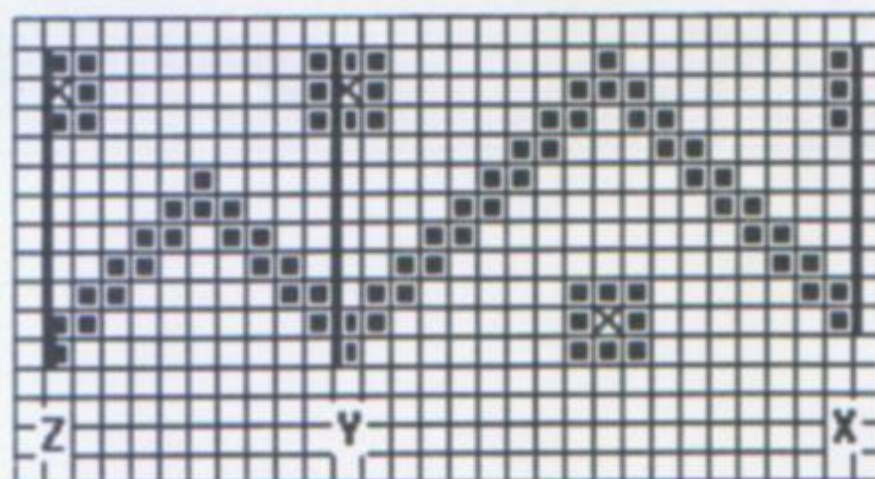


Figure 2



Graph D

Pull the red and navy away from you, pull the white into position and stitch white strands down as for the navy and red.

This twining is foolproof if you are careful to pull the two colors not in use out of the way and are sure to insert the needle in front of these two colors about 1/8 inch away from the last stitch, attaching only the color in use at the time.

Continue in the navy, red and white sequence to the end, attaching a new piece of weft yarn if it becomes too short to manipulate.

At the end, overstretch all colors several times. Knot and cut tan yarn and trim tricolor ends at about 3/4 inch long, forming a tuft.

Tassels: Make 3 carmine tassels and sew one in the middle and one at each end, incorporating the tricolor tufts on each end into the tassels as you attach them.

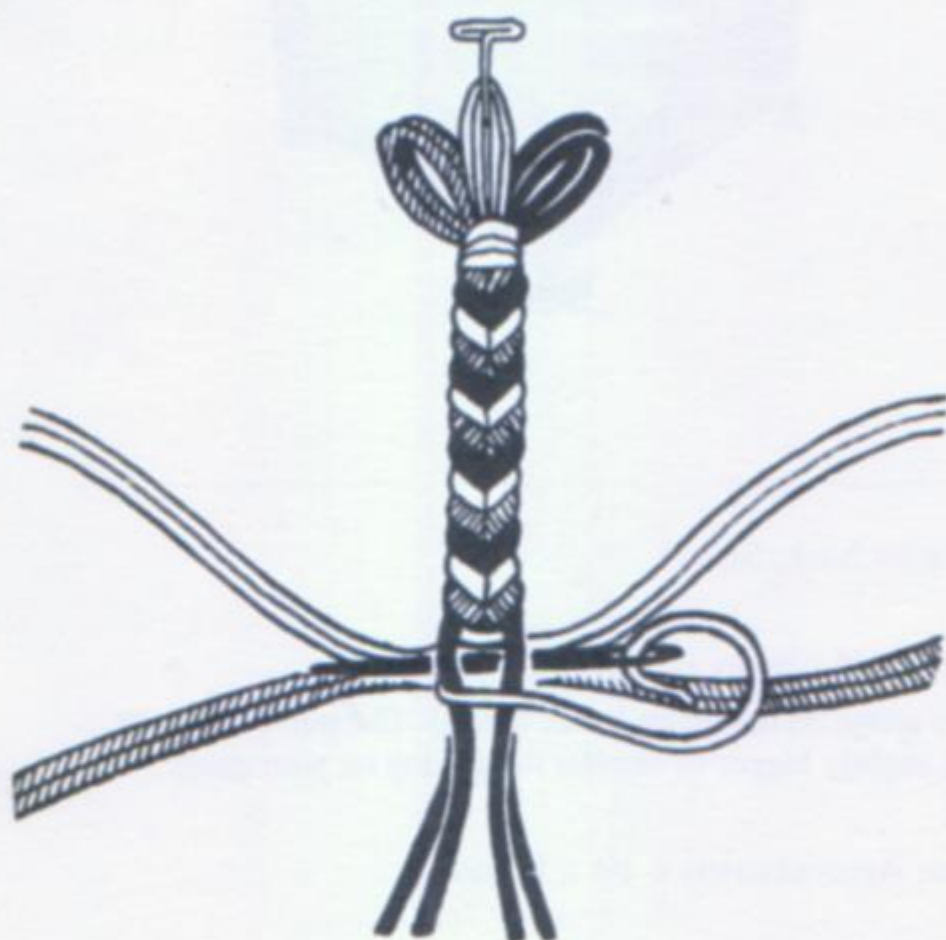


Figure 3

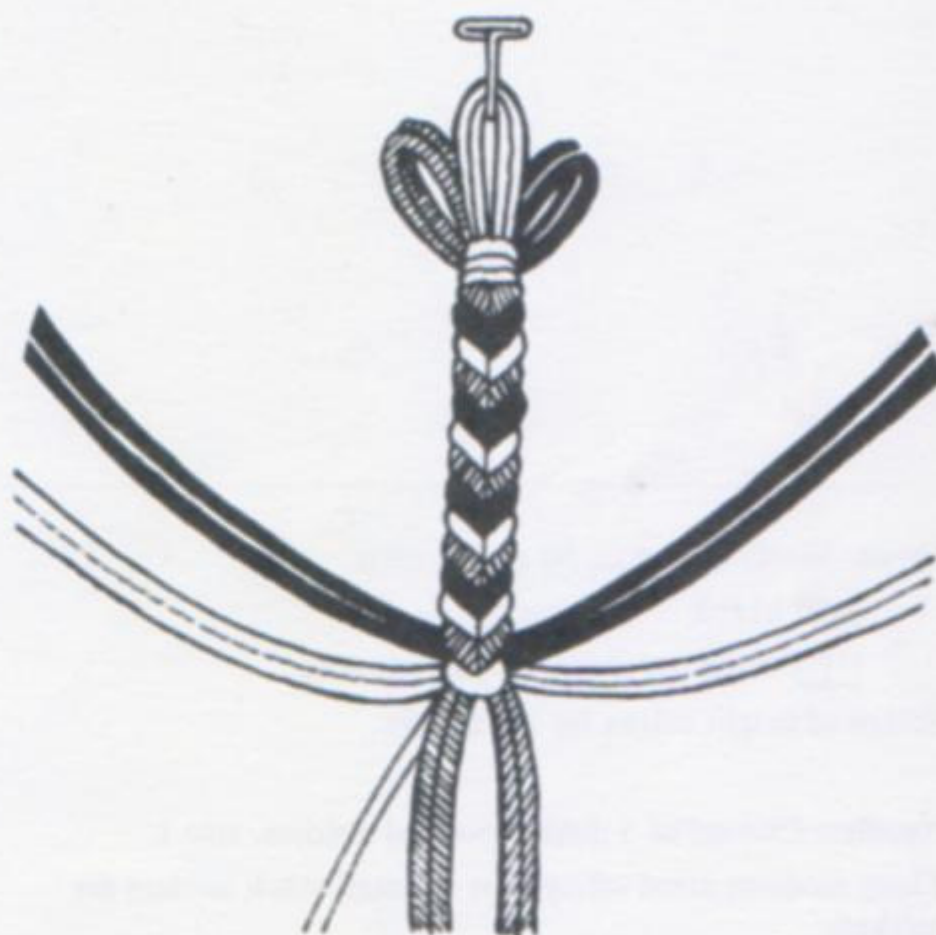


Figure 4



Detail, twined edging with applied tassels. Photo by Karen Searle.

2. Potosí Monedero

Many women in the Potosí area of Bolivia carry black and white patterned purses which are typically shaped like this one, or like a doll or an animal. 2:A, 3:K, Plate 9. Multicolored tassels usually brighten them. Slightly different bags are made in the LaPaz area in two or more colors. Plate 9, bag 9.

This monedero is begun at the top and knit down to the pointed bottom. Stitches are put onto holders for the little pockets: two in front and one in back. When the body of the purse is completed, stitches from holder and the body are picked up to knit each pocket. A braided band serves as the drawstring.



Yarns: Wool, Group C, 50 grams each

■ black

□ white (or colors of your choice)

Scraps of bright colors for the tassels

Needles: One set of 5 double-pointed needles, size 1.

Three medium-sized safety pins or small stitch holders for pockets.

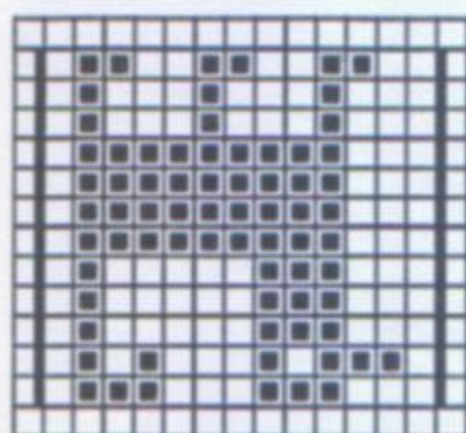
Tiny safety pins for markers: 2 gold, 2 silver.

Crochet hook, Size D

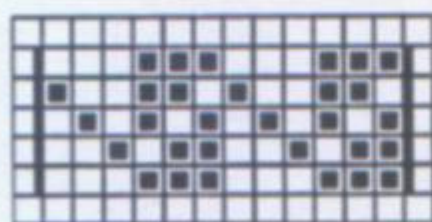
Gauge: 15 stitches = 2 inches.

The gauge on this purse is not crucial. The purse will turn out slightly bigger or smaller depending on your gauge.

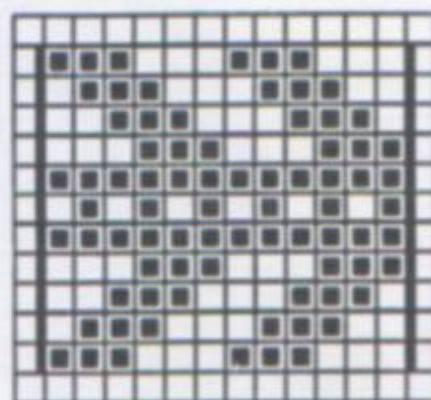
Size: Approximately 6 1/4 x 10 inches.



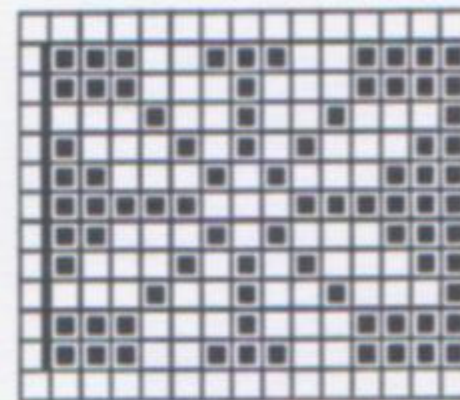
Graph A



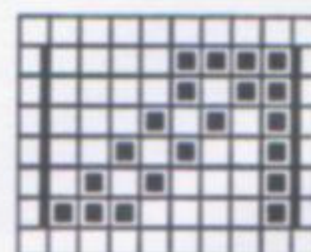
Graph B



Graph C



Graph D



Graph E

Instructions

Start purse at top. With black, cast on 62 stitches.

Divide stitches evenly onto 4 dp needles and tie into a circle. See *Techniques*.

Place a gold safety pin marker at the knot.

With black, knit 2 rounds, then purl 1 round.

Eyelet row for drawstring: * YO; Sl1, K1, pss0; continue from * around to marker.

Knit 9 rounds.

Textured border: Purl 1 round, knit 3 rounds, purl 1 round, knit 3 rounds.

Tie in ecru and knit 1 round ecru.

Increase round: With ecru, increase 1 stitch at the beginning of first three needle. (65 stitches.)

With black and ecru, work *Graph A*, knitting five animals with two stitches between each. one.

Knit 1 round ecru.

Increase round: With ecru, knit 1 round, increasing 7 stitches more or less evenly around. (72 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds black.

With black and ecru, work *Graph B*.

Increase round: With black, increase 12 stitches evenly around (3 per needle). (84 stitches.)

Check to be sure you have 84 stitches as you begin the pocket divisions. There will be 42 stitches for the front and 42 stitches in back, 21 per needle.

Place a small silver safety pin marker between sets of 42 stitches to indicate one edge; the gold marker indicates the other edge.

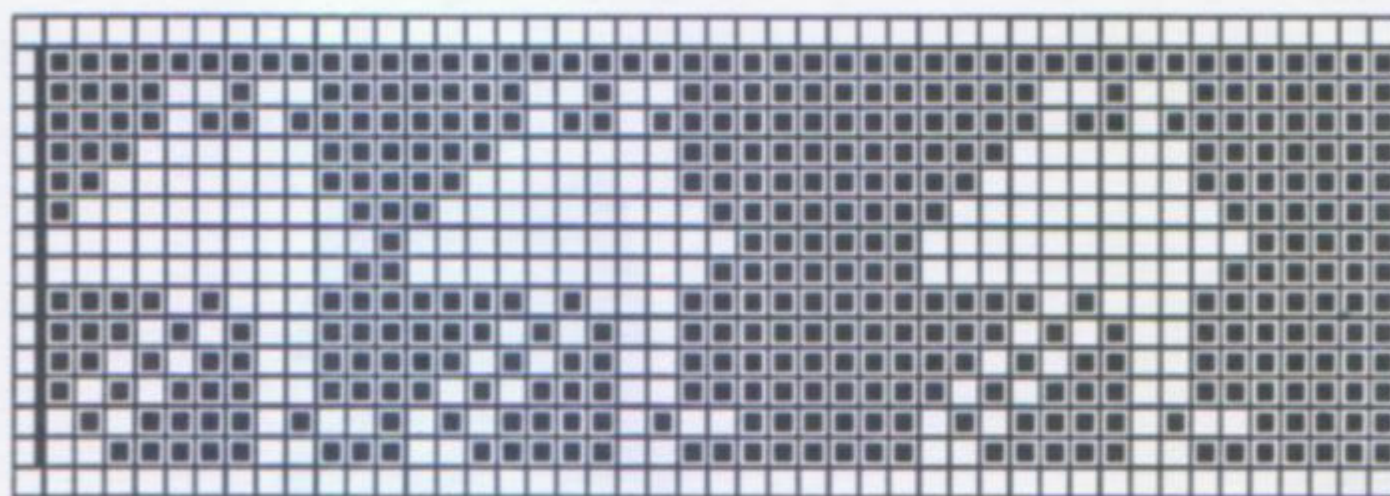
Pocket opening round: Beginning at gold marker, K6; place 12 stitches on a small holder for first front pocket; K6; place 12 stitches on holder for second front pocket; K6 to silver marker; K 11; place 20 stitches on holder for back pocket, then K11 stitches around to gold marker.

In the next round, cast stitches on above pocket openings to continue the body of the purse.

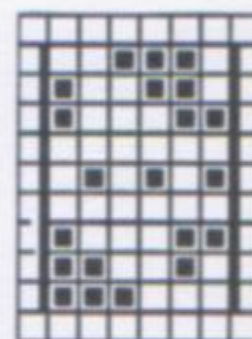
Cast on with the two-needle method: turn work around and insert needle as if to purl. Pull up a loop, turn it and put it on the left needle. Continue for the required number of stitches, then turn work back around. Keep the cast-on stitches loose so you can pick them up easily later.

Cast-on round: With ecru, K6; cast on 12 loosely; K6; cast on 12; K6 to silver marker; K11; cast on 20; K 11 to gold marker.

With ecru, knit the next round, including *all* the cast-on stitches. Check once again to be sure you have 84 stitches.



Graph 1



Graph 2

With black and ecru, work *Graph C*.

Increase round: With ecru, increase 12 stitches evenly around, 3 per needle. (96 stitches.)

Increase round: Knit 1 round ecru, increasing 1 stitch at beginning of first and third needles. (98 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds black.

With black and ecru, work *Graph D*, flowers.

Knit 2 rounds black, knit 2 rounds ecru.

Bottom Shaping: While following *Graph E*, every round is decreased 2 stitches at each edge as follows:

First needle: Sll, K1, PSSO, then knit across needle in pattern, following *Graph E*.

Second needle: Knit across in pattern until the last 2 stitches. K2 tog.

Third needle: Repeat first needle.

Fourth needle: Repeat second needle.

When *Graph E* is completed, knit 2 rounds black, following the decrease sequence.

Then, continuing decreases, work the alternating black/ecru pattern as follows: *K1 black, K1 ecru; continue from *. On the next and following rounds, knit ecru above the black stitches and black above the ecru.

When there are four stitches per needle (16 total), it

becomes awkward to work on four needles. You can put 8 stitches on each of 2 needles, one for the front and one for the back.

When there are four stitches total, break off yarns and pull the black only through the last 4 stitches with a small crochet hook. Knot black and ecru ends and pull them into the inside of the purse.

Back Pocket: With back of purse facing you, attach ecru at right edge of pocket opening. Put 20 black stitches from holder on a needle.

With ecru, pick up and knit 20 stitches from cast-on edge. (40 stitches total.) Divide stitches among three needles. Place a marker where ecru was attached.

With ecru, Knit 3 rounds, then knit eyelet round as follows:

*Yo; Sll, K1, PSSO; continue from * around to marker.

Knit 1 round ecru.

Attach black and knit 1 round black.

Increase round: With black, knit 1 round, increasing 2 stitches each needle. (46 stitches.)

Beginning at the marker, with black and ecru, work the 46 stitches following *Graph #1*; 23 stitches on front of pocket (2 birds) and 23 stitches on back of pocket (1 bird).



Stitches placed on holder for back pocket.



Stitches placed on holders for front pockets.

Knit 3 rounds ecru then bind off all stitches.

Break off yarns, leaving a 12-inch tail of ecru. Use this tail threaded on a large sewing needle to neatly slip-stitch the pocket bottom closed.

Front Pockets: For the first pocket — the right-side one, with the front of the purse facing you:

Place the 12 black stitches from holder onto a needle. Attach ecru at the right edge of the opening.

Pick up and knit 12 stitches from along the cast-on edge. Divide the 24 stitches onto 3 dp needles.

Place a marker at knot where ecru was attached. With ecru, knit across black stitches to marker.

Knit 1 round ecru.

Eyelet round: *YO; Sll, K1, PSSO.* Continue from * around to marker.

Increase round: Knit 1 round ecru, increasing 1 stitch in middle of each needle. (27 stitches.)

Attach black and knit 1 round black.

Increase round: Knit 1 round black, increasing 1 stitch at beginning of each needle. (30 stitches.)

With black and ecru, work *Graph 2* over 30 stitches.

Increase round: Knit 1 round black, increasing 1 stitch at middle of each needle. (33 stitches.)

Knit 1 more round black, increasing 1 stitch at

beginning of first needle. (34 stitches.) Put work on 2 needles, 17 stitches per needle. Move marker up.

Shaping decreases: Follow directions for purse bottom. Make decreases at beginning and end of each needle, always decreasing 4 stitches per round. This section should be worked in the alternating black/ white stitch pattern, as for purse bottom.

When there are only 6 stitches, (3 per needle), break off yarns. Pull the black tail only through the 6 remaining stitches with a small crochet hook.

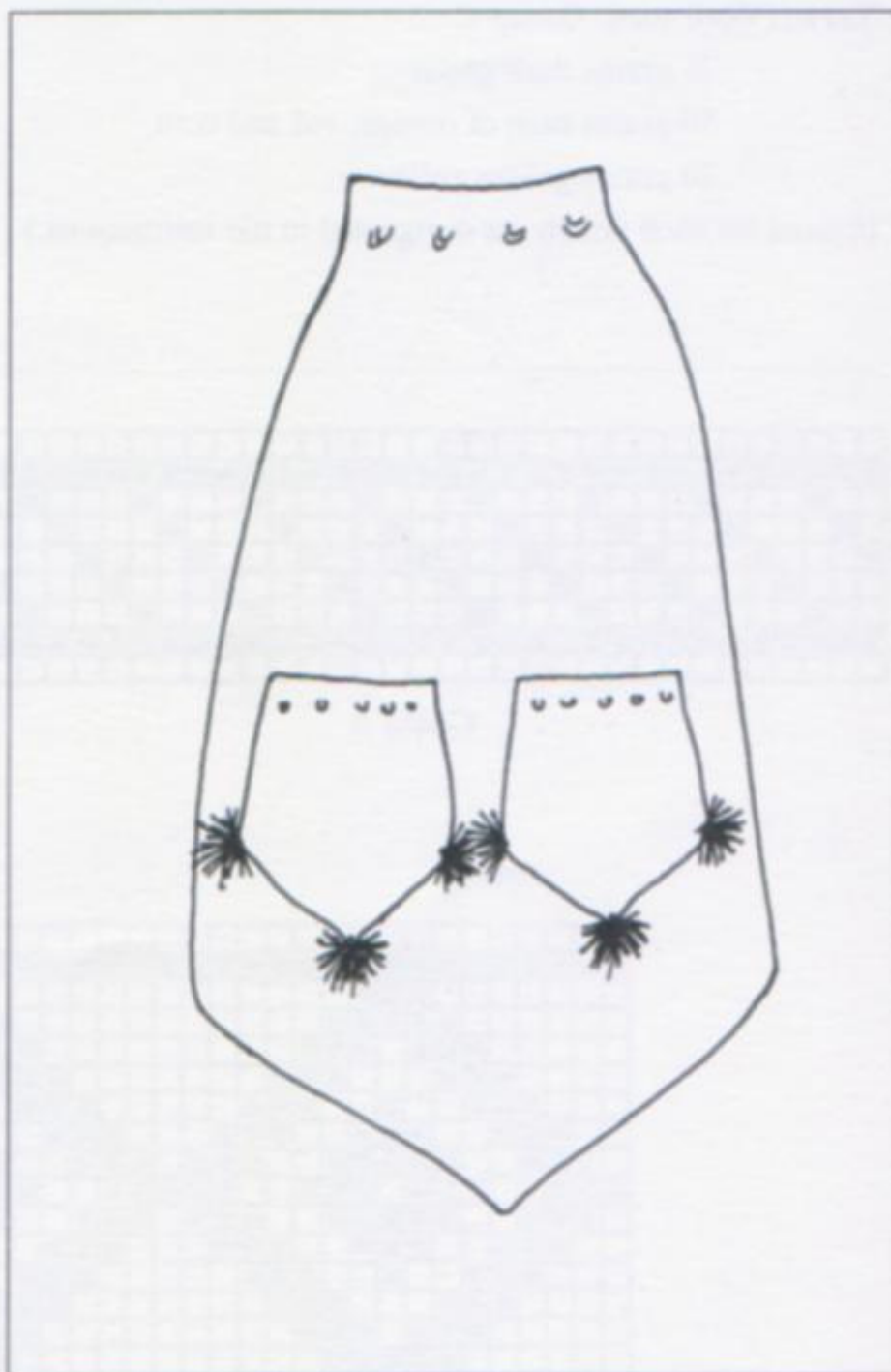
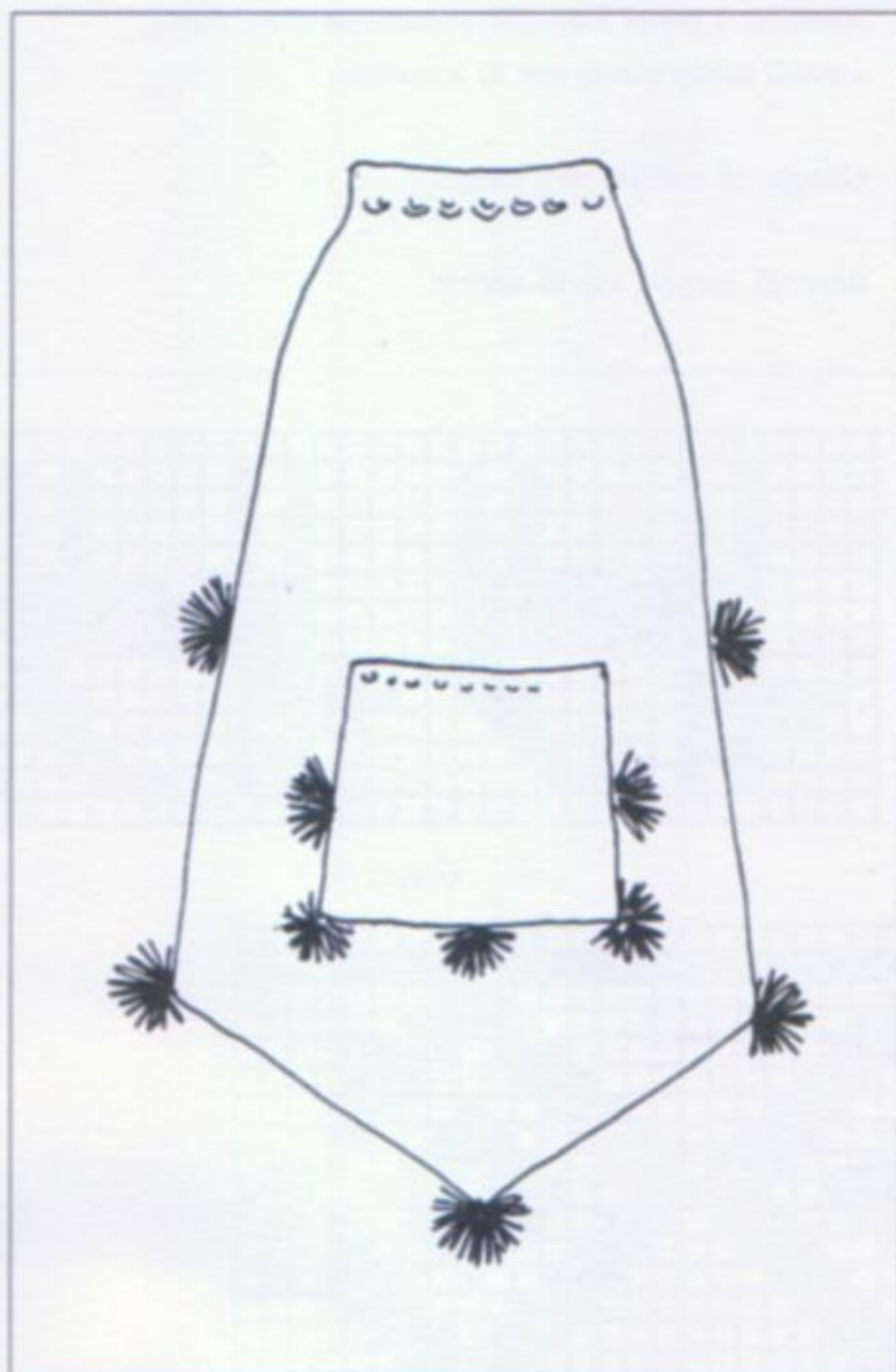
Knot the ecru and black ends and pull to inside of pocket.

Make a second pocket in the same way.

Finishing

Tassels: Cut numerous 1 1/2 inch lengths of colors you like. (The original purse has cerise, purple and green tassels.)

With a crochet hook, pull 6 or 8 ends through a stitch at the edge of purse or pocket. Fold the lengths in half and wrap with a 3-inch length of another color. Knot the wrapped yarn and trim the tassels. See diagrams below for tassel placement.



Diagrams showing the addition of colored tassels to edges and pockets.

3. Tarabuco Leggings

Patterned leggings form part of the traditional Pujllay fiesta costume worn by men in Tarabuco, Bolivia. 2:21. Decorated with animals, geometrics, and human figures, these wool leggings or *polainas de lana* are knit by the women, using sheep's wool dyed in tones of wine, red, orange, yellow, dark green and white — the same colors that stripe the woven ponchos and chuspas from Tarabuco.

This traditional legging has a flared ankle band and stirrups. Alternative directions for an aerobics/ballet-type legwarmer with ribbing at the top and bottom are given at the end of the pattern.



Yarns: Wool yarn, Group C

75 grams dark green

50 grams each of orange, red and ecru

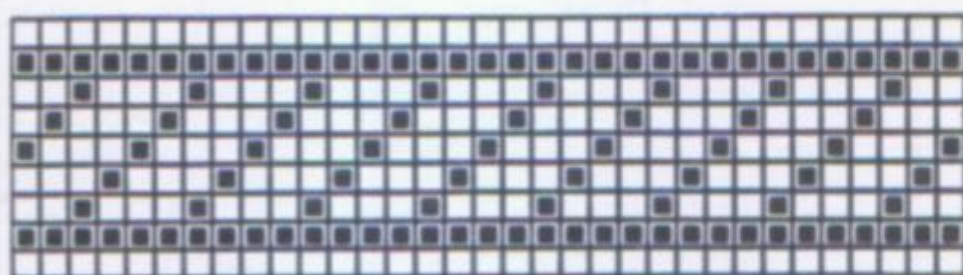
20 grams golden yellow

(Colors for each Graph are designated in the instructions.)

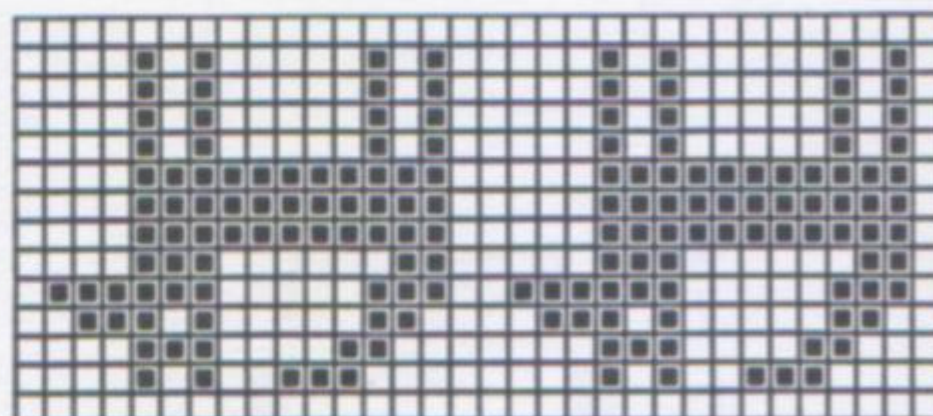
Needles: 1 set of 5 double-pointed needles, size 1
a small safety pin to use as a marker.

Gauge: 15 stitches = 2 inches.

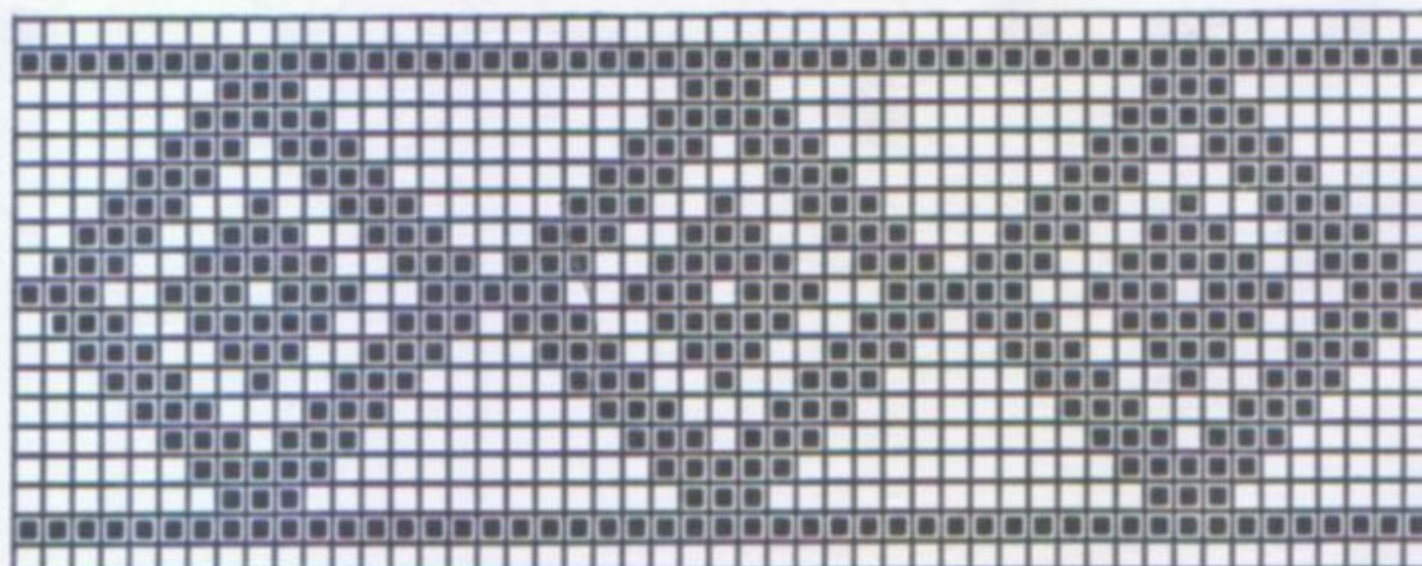
Size: 15 inches, top to stirrup.



Graph A



Graph B



Graph C

Instructions

Note: Leggings are knit from the top ribbing to the ankle-foot section. The animals appear upside down in the graphs — you begin knitting them at the ears/tail and work to the feet.

Cast on 88 stitches with dark green.

Tie work in a circle and work in K1 P1 ribbing for 16 rounds. Move the marker up as necessary.

Break off green and tie in ecru and red. Place a pin marker at the knot.

Work *Graph A* for 6 rounds in ecru with red pattern.

Increase round: Increase 1 stitch at the beginning and middle of each needle, *but only* in an ecru stitch, not in a red stitch, or the increase will show. (96 stitches.)

Begin green animals: With orange background, work *Graph B*, carrying unused color loosely across the back, and twisting the colors if the float is longer than 5 stitches.

With red and ecru, work *Graph C* in the same manner. Stagger the places where you catch up the yarns. If you twist them right above the twist on the preceding row, the unused color is more likely to show.

The last round in the red/ecru diamond section is a **decrease round**: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (88 stitches.)

With golden yellow and orange, work *Graph D* for 6 rounds. The last orange round is an **increase round**: Increase 1 stitch at beginning of first and third needles. (90 stitches.)

With dark green and orange, work *Graph E* (only 1 stitch between animals) over 90 stitches.

With red and ecru, work *Graph F* for 16 rows, until last ecru round, which is a **decrease round**:

K2 tog. at beginning of first and third needles, beginning and ending at the marker. (88 stitches.)

With golden yellow and orange, work *Graph G* for 6 rounds to last yellow round which is an **increase round**:

Increase 1 stitch at beginning of second and fourth needles. (90 stitches.)

With orange and dark green, work *Graph H* until last orange round which is a decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning of first and third needles. (88 stitches.)

With red and ecru, work *Graph I*.

With dark green, knit 6 rounds then increase 1 stitch at beginning and middle of each needle. (96 stitches.)

Knit 6 more rounds.†

In the seventh round, increase 2 stitches on each needle.

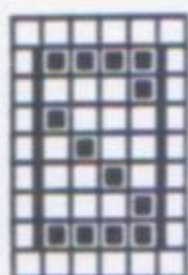
Knit 5 more rounds.

Purl 1 round, knit 1 round, 4 times. Bind off.

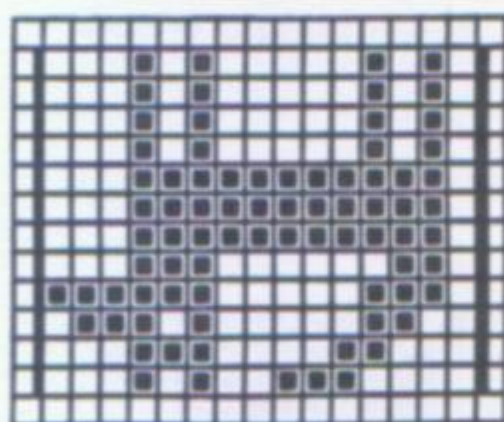
Stirrup: Cast on 6 stitches and knit a strip 6 to 10 inches long. Bind off.

Try on legging and pin stirrup in place at a comfortable spot. Sew the stirrup in place.

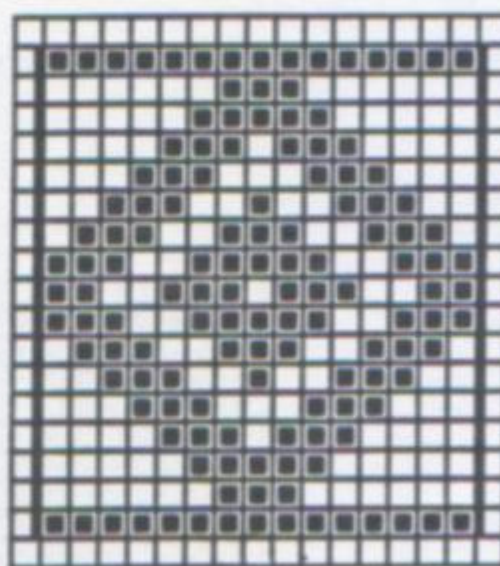
Leggings with ribbing at top and bottom: Follow directions to †, then work 16 rounds of K1, P1 ribbing in dark green. Bind off.



Graph D



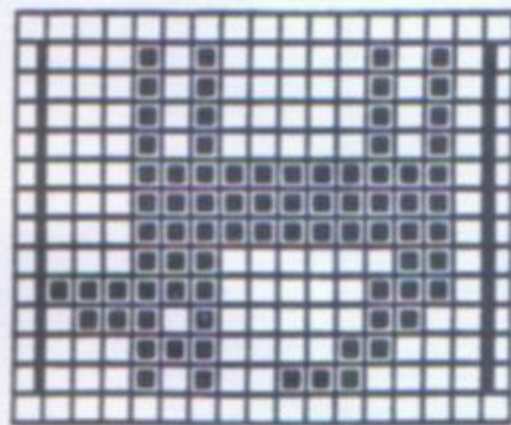
Graph E



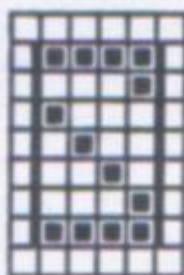
Graph F



Graph G



Graph H



Graph I

4. Child's Cap with Calamarca Motifs

This little cap was inspired by the beautiful adult caps of the Calamarca area south of LaPaz, Bolivia. It has a pattern band of swaybacked horses and their riders. Monochromatic figures on a striped background are typical of Calamarca knitting and weaving designs. Finely-knit traditional caps, characterized by an elongated pointed top, used to be made and worn by men there, but are seldom used today. See 3:4-3:6 and Plate 24.

This cap is begun at the top, as is customary for the adult caps. It is shaped by knitting a series of regular increases with a solid color yarn down to the wide patterned area. Movement is implied in the design by the position of the horses' legs and by the multicolored stripes running behind the animals. Tweedy brown-and-white yarn forms the earthy trail they gallop over. Positive/negative interlocking "waves" frame the pattern band. A colorful purled checkered border of two-color squares adds textural interest. The Calamarca adult cap in Plates 10 and 24 show the traditional colors. Or your child may want to choose his or her own favorite combination of colors.



Yarns: Wool, Group B.

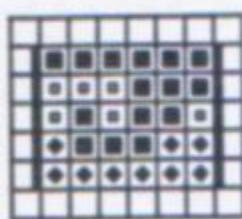
-  navy 50 grams
-  ecru 25 grams
-  deep rose 25 grams
-  dusty purple 25 grams
-  6-8 yards of brown/white tweed. (I used one ply of fine white with one ply of brown.)

Crewel embroidery wool can be used for the accent colors.

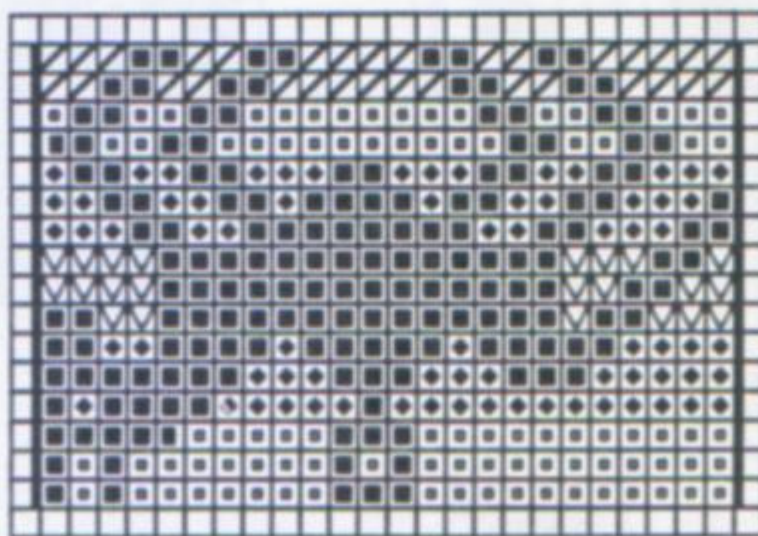
Needles: One set of 5 double-pointed needles, size 1, or size required to obtain gauge.

Gauge: 16 stitches = 2 inches.

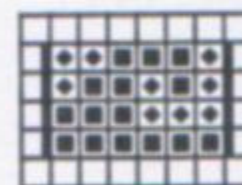
Size: Circumference, 20 inches. Fits children from 4 years and up. The cap stretches and may fit some teens and adults. Measure head size to check.



Graph A



Graph B



Graph C

Instructions

Note: Graphs appear upside down because the cap is worked upside down, that is, from the plain top to the bottom checkered edge.

Top: Cast 12 stitches onto one needle.

K3. Slip these 3 stitches to middle of the needle.

* Starting with a new needle, K3 and slip the 3 stitches to the middle of that needle.

Repeat from * twice. You should have four needles in a square, each holding 3 stitches. Check to be sure work is not twisted.

Bring yarn around from last cast-on stitch to first stitch on first needle. Knit 1 stitch.

Place a marker between the last cast-on stitch and the first knit stitch. Continue knitting as follows, making *increases* to start top of cap.

Increase by knitting 2 stitches in every stitch around. (24 stitches.) This is the hardest part: at this point, the whole thing seems spikey and awkward, but after you knit a few more rounds, the work will become easier. There may be a small hole in the middle which will be remedied later.

Knit 1 round with 24 stitches.

Increase 1, K1; continue from * to * around to marker. (36 stitches.)

Knit 1 round with 36 stitches

Increase 1, K2; continue from * to * around to marker. (48 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds with 48 stitches.

Increase 1, K3; continue from * to * around to marker. (60 stitches.)

Knit 3 rounds with 60 stitches.

Move marker up about every inch, so it is visible as you work, always making sure to pin it between the same 2 stitches.

Increase 1, K4; continue from * to * around to marker. (72 stitches.)

Knit 4 rounds with 72 stitches.

Increase 1, K5; continue from * to * around to marker. (84 stitches.)

Knit 5 rounds with 84 stitches.

Increase 1, K6; continue from * to * around to marker. (96 stitches.)

Knit 6 rounds with 96 stitches.

Increase 1, K5; continue from * to * around to marker. (112 stitches.)

Knit 7 rounds with 112 stitches.

Beginning at marker, *increase 1, K6* — repeat from * to * six times; increase 1, K13; * increase 1, K6* — repeat * to * six more times; end increase 1, K13. (126 stitches). Check to be sure you have 126 stitches or the wave design will not come out evenly.

Attach ecru yarn at marker and knit the first 3 rounds of the wave pattern, *Graph A*.

In the fourth round (solid ecru), increase 1 stitch at beginning of round and 1 stitch in middle of round. (128 stitches.)

Knit 1 round purple; Knit 1 round navy.

On next navy round, beginning at marker, * increase 1, K7*; continue from * to * around to marker. (144 stitches.)

Check to be sure there are 144 stitches before beginning the horse pattern band, *Graph B*.

Following color symbols on *Graph B*, knit horses and striped background. Be sure to carry yarns not in use loosely across the back and catch them up with the working color when a float is longer than 5 stitches.

After two tweed rows at horses' feet, knit 1 round rose.

Knit 1 round navy.

With rose, ecru and navy, work *Graph C* under the horses.

Curled checkered edging: After last navy row in *Graph C*, attach purple and begin checkered edging at the marker as follows: *K3 navy, K3 purple; repeat from * around for 3 rounds:

P3 navy, P3 purple; repeat from * around to marker.

Work two more rounds, working navy above navy and purple above purple, forming a checkered band. Break off purple.

Attach rose and ecru. *K3 rose, K3 ecru, continue from * around to marker.

*P3 rose, P3 ecru; continue from * around to marker.

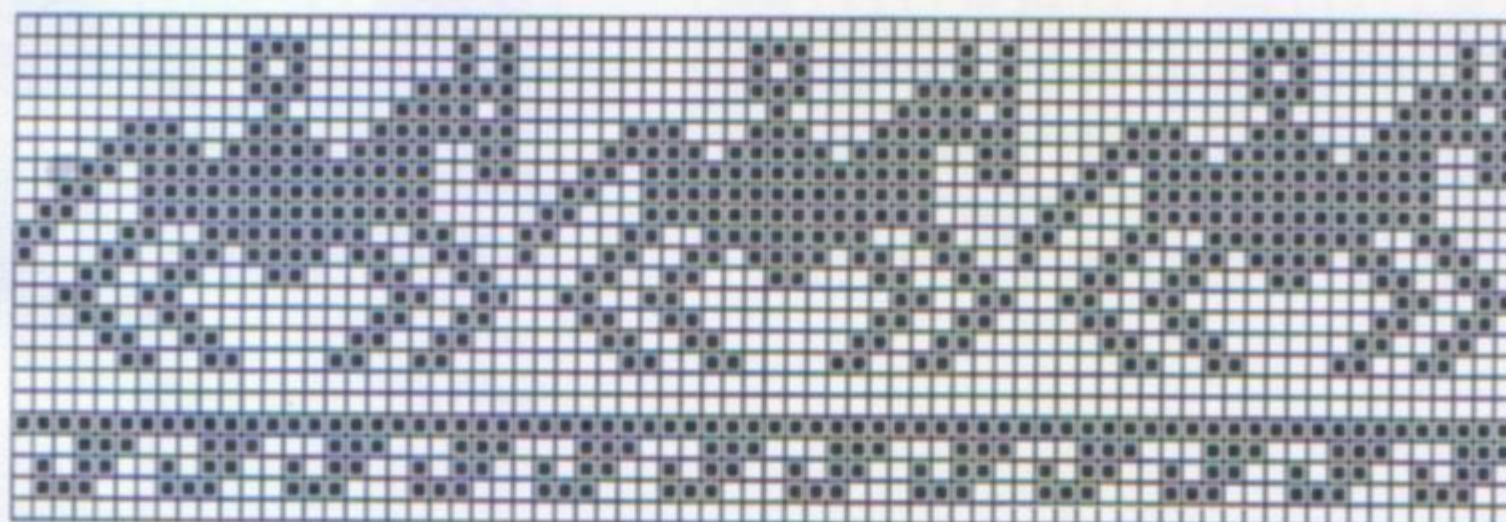
Break off rose and ecru; knit 1 round navy.

Bind off loosely with navy.

Finishing: Weave in the loose ends inside the cap. There will probably be a small hole about one centimeter in diameter at the top of the cap.

Thread a large sewing needle with a short length of matching yarn and stitch a running stitch around the hole, pulling gently to gather it together. Tie the yarn off and weave in the end.

Cap may be decorated with a pompom, if desired.



5. Leque Baby Girl's Cap

Leque sits in a valley between Cochabamba and Oruro, Bolivia. To reach the village, I rode over breathtaking snow-dusted passes atop a truckload of manure destined to help grow better potatoes there! At the Sunday market, a dozen babies wearing pink and red caps surveyed the bustle from their mothers' backs.

This cap has typical Leque motifs in the reds, golds, ecru and wine that are also found in the women's woven belts and skirts of the region. Similar caps, usually with earflaps, adorn baby boys. The red-dyed alpaca tufts at top and sides designate female babies.

Andean knitters feel very free to incorporate any techniques that will give them the desired results! In this cap more than two colors are used in the pattern rows and the float length on the back side exceeds five stitches without being caught up.



Yarns: Wool yarn, Group B.

- red, 25 grams
- wine 20 grams for background in motif bands
- ⊗ 10 grams each medium gold; pale gold or ecru, brownish pink and dusty rose to use in alternate animal/bird motifs.

20 yards each golden brown and orange to use in checkered borders

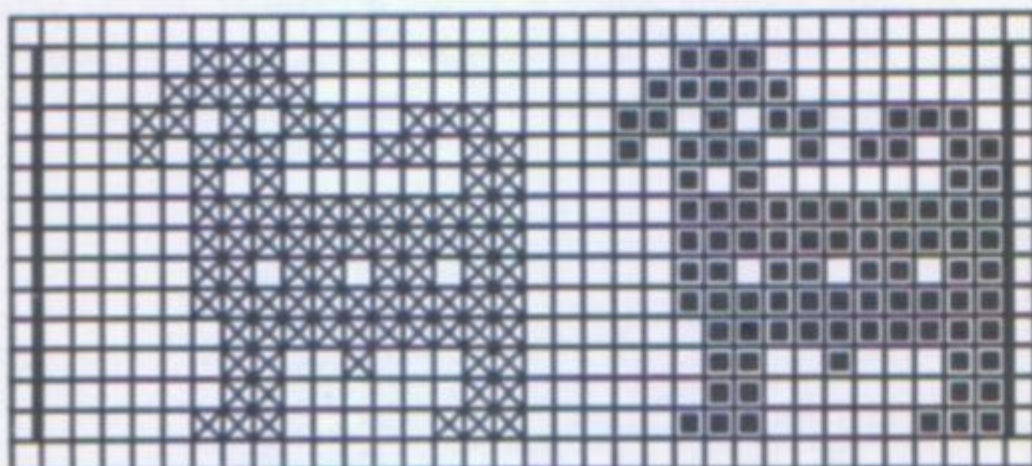
5 yards each hot pink and purple for scallops.
(One or two strands of crewel embroidery wool may be used for the smaller amounts.)

3 pieces of long fleece in tufts, or roving, dyed red or dark pink, to decorate a girl's cap at top and sides.

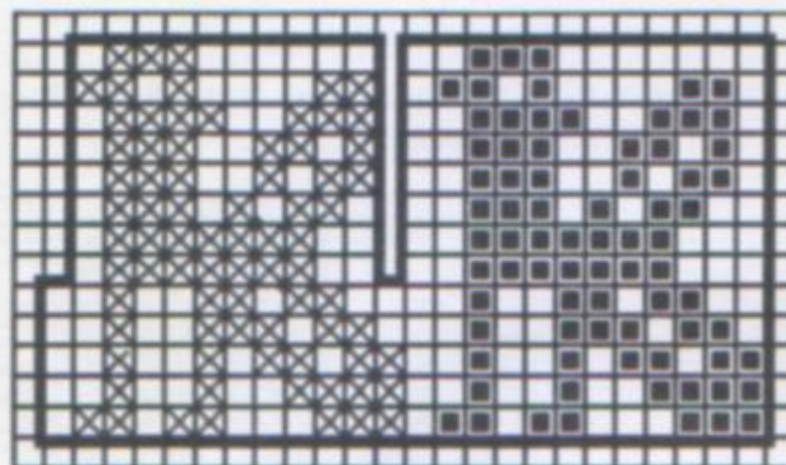
Needles: One pair straight needles size 1.
One set of 5 double-pointed needles, size 0.
Crochet hook, size 0.
Small safety pin to use as a marker.

Gauge: 16 stitches = 2 inches.

Size: Circumference, 16 inches.



Graph A



Graph B

Instructions

Scalloped Border or puntas: The cap is begun with a straight strip of pink and purple *puntas* or scallops, which is joined into a circle to knit the cap.

Divide the purple yarn into two small balls.

With hot pink and crochet hook, make a fairly loose chain approximately 32 inches long. (127 stitches and 21 scallops are needed.)

Break off yarn, leaving a 12-inch tail. Attach purple at the slip knot (beginning) of the chain.

Work 21 large *puntas* as described in *Techniques*. If the crochet chain runs out before scallop #21, use the tail to chain enough to finish. There should be 127 stitches on the "holding" needle.

Cap: Break off purple and tie in orange and brown.

Divide stitches onto four dp needles and join, being careful not to twist any stitches. Place a safety pin marker at join. Move it up as you work, being careful to keep it between the same two stitches.

Checkered Border: Begin with orange. Increase 1 in the first stitch, (2 orange), then K2 orange, K4 brown, *K4 orange, K4 brown, repeat from * around to join. (128 stitches.)

*P4 orange, P4 brown, repeat to marker.

Repeat last round. 3 rounds in all. Break off orange and brown; tie in red.

Knit 8 rounds red. Do not break off. Tie in dusty rose and brown.

Verify number of stitches. Work two-round pattern, *Graph A*.

Knit 5 rounds red. Break off red.

Work *Graph B* with wine background, alternating gold and brownish pink for the dogs. Carry colors not in use loosely across the back. See *Techniques*. Break off all three colors. Attach red.

Decrease round: With red, K2 tog. above each dog's head. (120 stitches, 30 per needle.)

Knit 3 rounds red.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at the beginning and middle of each needle. (112 stitches.)

Attach rose and brown and work two more pattern

rounds as above. Break off rose and brown.

Knit 1 round red.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning of first and third needles. (110 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds red.

Decrease round: *K9, K2 tog; repeat from *. (100 stitches.)

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning of each needle. (96 stitches.) Break off red.

Attach wine, pale gold and dusty rose. Work *Graph C*, (birds alternate in pale gold and rose on wine background) for 5 rounds.

Work decrease round as shown on graph; K2 tog. the two stitches between each bird. (88 stitches.)

Complete *Graph B* as shown. Break off wine, pale gold and rose. Attach red.

Decrease round: With red, K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (80 stitches.)

Knit 3 rounds red.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (72 stitches, 18 per needle.)

Knit 1 round red.

Tie in rose and brown. Work *Graph D*. Break off rose and brown. (72 stitches.)

Top: Finish top of cap with red. K1 round.

Decrease round: *K4, K2 tog.; repeat from *. (60 stitches, 15 per needle.)

K 2 rounds.

Decrease round: *K4, K2 tog.; repeat from *. (50 stitches.)

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning of first and third needles. (48 stitches, 12 per needle.)

Begin regular decreases: K2 tog. at beginning of each needle.

Continue this decrease *every* round until there are 8 stitches left.

Break off red, leaving a 9-inch tail, and pull it through all stitches with crochet hook. Knot the yarn; pull tail to inside and trim.

For girl's cap, sew fleece tufts at top and at ears.



At the Sunday market in Leque, Bolivia, babies wearing the charming Leque caps survey the scene from their mothers' backs.

6. Huancané Ruffled Bonnet and Mini-Bonnet

Huancané sits at the northernmost end of the Peruvian side of Lake Titicaca near marshes and waterways rich in an amazing variety of birdlife. Naturally, a bird motif decorates these appealing alpaca and wool bonnets that mothers knit for their little girls.

The patterned bonnet top is completed before picking up stitches along the bottom edge and knitting the ruffle. The ruffle is made with a series of yarn-over increases. It is very simple to work, although you will need to add several more needles as the number of stitches in the flounce increases.

Traditional bonnets use the natural alpaca colors, or a combination of cerise, dark brown and ecru, or grey, black and ecru. Instructions for a child's bonnet are given first. The Mini-bonnet fits a doll or teddy bear and makes a good practice project.

This bonnet could be knit in non-traditional colors such as combinations of soft mauves, lavender, grey blues and dusty rose — or bright red and purple — whatever strikes your fancy or pleases the lucky child who will receive one.



Yarns: Lightweight wool or alpaca, Group C. 50 grams of each color, in

- ecru
- golden brown
- dark brown.

(Optional: 25 grams black and 10 grams pale golden brown to duplicate the bonnet in *Plate I*).

Colors for each graph are indicated in the instructions.

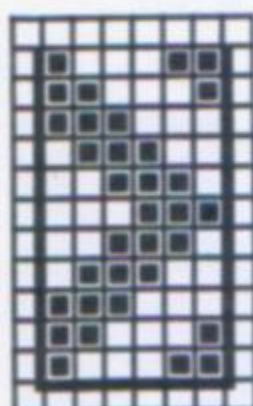
Needles: *Bonnet:* Two sets (8 or 10) double-pointed needles, size 1, or size required to knit the gauge.

Mini-Bonnet: Two sets of double-pointed needles, size 0.

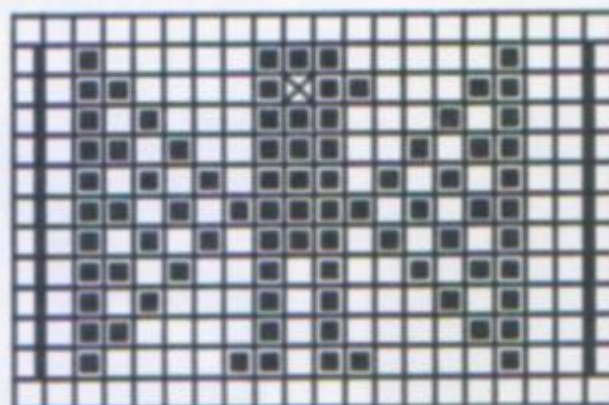
Gauge: *Bonnet:* 15 stitches = 2 inches.

Mini-Bonnet: 16 stitches = 2 inches.

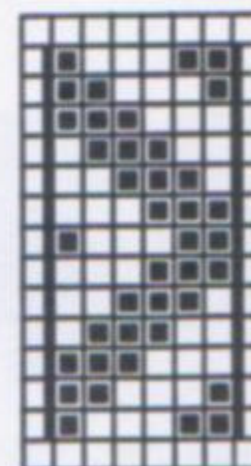
Size: *Bonnet:* Circumference: 17 inches. Bonnet stretches and may fit some teens and adults.



Graph A



Graph B



Graph C

Instructions

With black, cast on 126 stitches and divide evenly on four needles. Join work, being careful not to twist any stitches. Place marker at join.

Purl 3 rounds in black.

Beginning at marker, work *Graph A* with dark brown and golden brown.

Knit 1 round black, 1 round ecru, 1 round dark brown

Beginning at marker, work *Graph B* with black and ecru. There will be 7 ecru birds with 3 black background stitches between each one.

Knit 1 round dark brown, knit 1 round ecru.

Decrease round: With black, *K19, K2 tog.* Repeat between * around. (120 stitches.) (The correct number of stitches after each decrease round is important for the graph motifs to work out evenly.)

Work *Graph C* with dark brown and golden brown.

Decrease round: With black, *K8, K2 tog.* Repeat between * around. (108 stitches, 27 per needle.)

Knit 1 round ecru.

Decrease round: With dark brown, K2 tog. at beginning of each needle. (104 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, knit *Graph D* in black and ecru, working from point x to point y six times, then from point x to point z once (partial motif).

Decrease round: With dark brown, K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (96 stitches, 24 per needle.)

Knit 1 round ecru.

Decrease round: With black, K2 tog. at beginning of first and third needles and in middle of second and fourth needles. (90 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, using black and ecru, work *Graph E*. Note that the last round is a *decrease round*, shaded on the graph:

*K13 in pattern, then using the appropriate pattern color, Knit the next 2 stitches together, repeat from * around. (84 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, using black and ecru, work *Graph F*. The last round is a *decrease round*, shaded on the graph:

K2 tog. the first 2 black stitches in *every other* black area. (6 decreases, 78 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, with dark brown and golden brown, work *Graph G* for 6 rounds. (By now you probably have a very good idea of how the decreases affect the design.)

Decrease round: Using the color that keeps the diagonal stripe pattern more or less intact, K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (70 stitches.) Some stripes will become thinner, just as on the original bonnet.

Continue working diagonal stripes for 4 more rounds. Patterning completed.

Decrease round: With pale golden brown K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (58 stitches.)

Knit 5 rounds golden brown.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (50 stitches.)

Knit 5 rounds.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (42 stitches.)

Knit 5 rounds.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (34 stitches.)

Knit 4 rounds.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (26 stitches.)

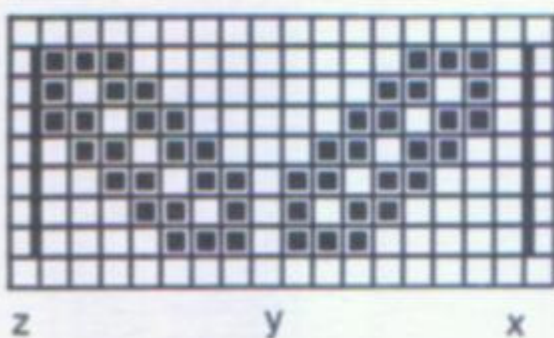
Knit 4 rounds.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (18 stitches.)

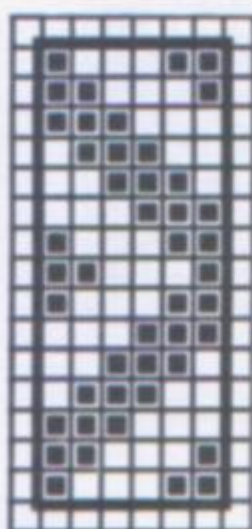
Divide the 18 stitches evenly on 2 needles and Knit 3 more rounds.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (14 stitches.)

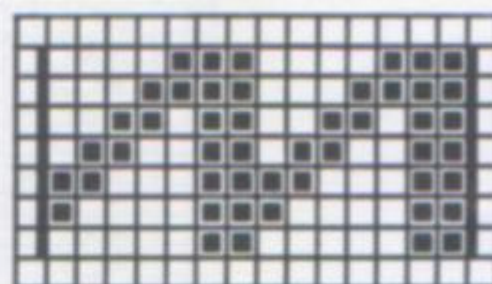
Knit 3 rounds.



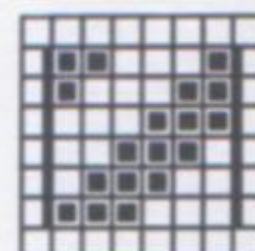
Graph D



Graph E



Graph F



Graph G

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (10 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (6 stitches.)

Break off yarn, leaving a 4-inch tail. With a small crochet hook, pull tail through last 6 stitches and knot.

Tassel: The original bonnet has a skinny tassel added to the top, made of 6 pieces of doubled and twisted yarn. You may wish to add some sort of tassel.

Ruffle: With ecru yarn and 4 dp needles, pick up and knit 126 stitches along the cast-on edge.

Hold bonnet upside-down, point toward the floor, to knit the ruffle. Knit 1/2 inch in ecru.

Begin eyelet-increase ruffle at the marker: *YO, K3; repeat from * around to marker.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K4; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K5; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K6; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K7; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K8; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K9; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K10; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

*YO, K11; repeat from * around.

Knit 1 round.

Bind off with golden brown.

Note: You can work with 4 needles until there are about 80 stitches per needle; then the stitches tend to slide off the ends. At this point, knit into the work with another needle or two, adding needles as necessary to keep the work manageable. Be careful to keep the yarn-over sequence intact.

Steam set ruffle: To pleat the ruffle neatly, you can baste through it as you hold it pinched together, and lightly steam it under a damp cloth. Do not let the iron touch the knitting. The steam will form the pleats. You may also want to pin down the top and steam the whole bonnet. Let dry completely before removing basting threads and pins.

Huancané Mini-Bonnet

With dark brown, cast on 78 stitches and divide evenly on 4 dp needles. Join work, being careful not to twist any stitches. Place a marker at the join.

Purl 2 rounds with black.

Work *Graph A1* with dark brown and golden brown

The small arrowhead patterns must be worked especially carefully. There is a 3/3 sequence to the color changes, except at the marker, where there may be 2 stitches of one color or 4 of another. This is not a problem if you follow the graphs exactly, and keep the marker in the same vertical row.

Decrease round: With black, K2 tog. at the beginning of the first 3 needles. (75 stitches.)

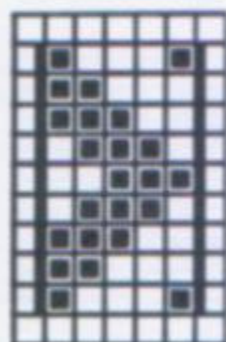
Knit 1 round dark brown.

Work *Graph B1* with ecru and black for 5 rounds, then work a *decrease round* as follows:

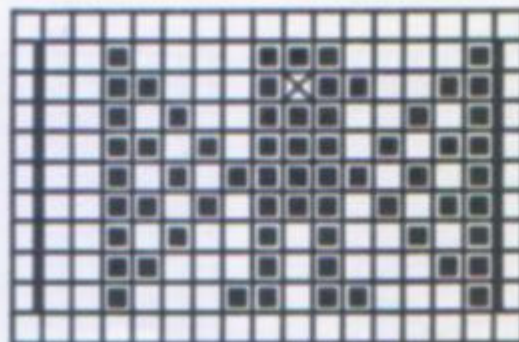
K2 tog. the black stitches. between each bird. (70 stitches.) Continue to the last row of *Graph B1* and work another *decrease round*:

K 2tog. the black stitches at the left of each bird's head. (65 stitches.)

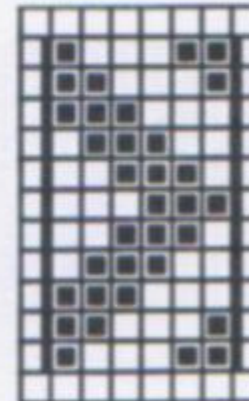
Knit 1 round dark brown.



Graph A1



Graph B1



Graph C1

Decrease round: With black, beginning at marker, K6, *K2 tog., K 11*; repeat between * 3 more times, K2 tog., K5. (60 stitches.)

Work *Graph C1* with dark brown and golden brown (with same precautions as for Graph A) until the last row, then decrease as follows:

Keeping in stripe pattern, K2 tog. at beginning of each needle. (56 stitches.)

Knit 1 round black.

Decrease round: *K6, K2 tog.*; repeat from between * around to marker. (49 stitches.)

Work *Graph D1* in black and ecru for 6 rounds. The 7th round, shaded on the graph, is a *decrease round*:

K 2tog. the first 2 ecru stitches in each ecru section. (42 stitches.) At this point it is more comfortable to knit with two needles, 21 stitches on each.

Knit 1 round dark brown.

Work *Graph E1* with dark brown and golden brown for 4 rounds. Next round is a *decrease round*:

Keeping in stripe pattern, K2 tog. in each golden brown stripe. (35 stitches.)

Continue stripe pattern (3 stitches. dark brown, 2 stitches. golden brown) for 2 more rounds.

Knit 1 round golden brown.

Decrease round: *K5, K2 tog.*; repeat from between *. (30 stitches.)

Knit 3 rounds. At this point, you should have 30 stitches on 2 needles, 15 stitches on each.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (26 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at beginning of each needle. (24 stitches.)

Decrease round: *K4, K2 tog.*; repeat from between *. (20 stitches.)

Knit 1 round.

Decrease round: *K2 tog., K1*; repeat from between *; K 2 tog. (13 stitches).

Decrease round: *K1, K2 tog.*; repeat from between *; K1. (9 stitches.)

Decrease round: K2 tog. around, end K1. (5 stitches.)

Break off yarn, leaving a 4-inch tail. With a small crochet hook, pull the tail through the last 5 stitches and knot. A small tassel may be added to the tip.

Ruffle:

With ecru, pick up and knit 76 stitches along the dark brown cast-on edge. Arrange these stitches. over 4 needles, 19 on. each. Place marker.

Knit 3 rounds ecru.

Begin *eyelet increase rounds* at marker: *YO, K2,* repeat from between * around.

Knit 1 round.

YO, K3, repeat from between * around.

Knit 1 round.

YO, K4, repeat from between * around.

Knit 1 round, adding another needle if stitches begin to slide off ends.

YO, K5, repeat from between * around.

Knit 1 round.

YO, K6, repeat from between * around.

Knit 1 round, adding another needle if necessary.

YO, K7, repeat from between * around.

Knit 1 round.

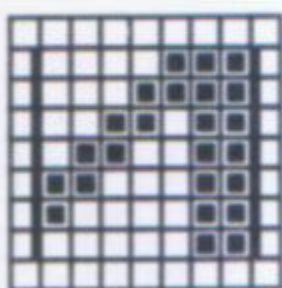
YO, K8, repeat from between * around.

Knit 1 round.

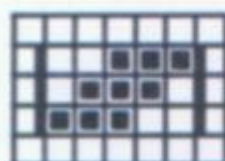
*YO, K9, repeat from between * around.

Knit final round. Bind off in golden brown.

To pleat the ruffle neatly, you can baste through it as you hold it pinched together, see sketch and lightly steam it under a damp cloth. You may also want to pin down the top and steam the whole bonnet. Do not let the iron touch the knitting; the steam will form the pleats. Dry completely before removing basting threads and pins.



Graph D1



Graph E1



Detail of eyelet-increase ruffle. Photo by Karen Searle.

7. Chucuito Ruffled Bonnet

The village of Chucuito lies south of Puno, Peru on the shores of Lake Titicaca. This charming bonnet style is worn by little girls there. It is begun with a ruffle knit back-and-forth on straight needles. Additional stitches are then added for the back of the neck. The work is placed on double-pointed needles and joined to be knit in the round.

The designs on the base of the cap are composed of purled ridges and a row of decorative eyelets embellished by rows of multicolored popcorn stitches. These can be knit in, or added later with a crochet hook. The multicolored starflowers in the wide pattern band may be worked in two colors, or in the *zig-zag intarsia technique* when a different set of colors is desired for each individual flower. See *Techniques*. The top of the hat is pure white. There is a break in the ruffle at the back of the neck



Yarns: Wool, Group B.

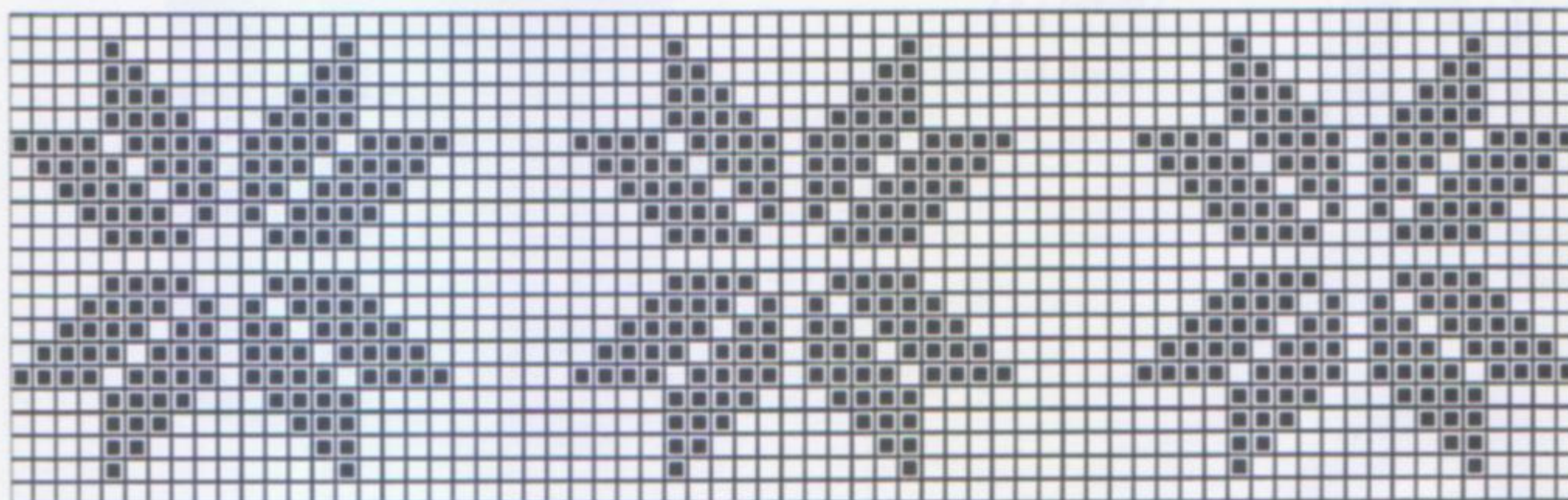
- ■ white 2 oz. (50 grams)
- □ red 1 oz. (25 grams)
- 10 grams of orange and dark green to vary colors of petals, if desired.

6-8 yards of fuchsia, royal blue, turquoise, yellow and chartreuse, or other bright colors for popcorns.

Needles: One pair of single-pointed needles, size 0 or 1.
One set of 5 double-pointed needles in the same size.
Steel crochet hook, size 5 (for crocheted popcorn version).
Small silver and gold safety pins for markers.

Gauge: 16 stitches = 2 inches for 1-2 year size.
14 stitches = 2 inches for 3-5 year size.

Measurements: *small size:* 16 inches around.
large size: 18 inches around.
Bonnet will stretch somewhat when worn.



Graph A

Instructions

Ruffle: With red and single-pointed needles, cast on 294 stitches.

Work striped border in K2, P2 ribbing, 2 rows each of red, fuchsia and orange.

Work 16 more rows ribbing in white.

Complete ruffle with a row of double decreases: (*S1 1, K2 tog., PSSO*) across. (98 stitches.)

Base of Bonnet: Cast on 26 more stitches for back of neck. (124 stitches.)

Divide work evenly on 4 dp needles, 31 stitches per needle. Tie work into a circle. Place a gold marker at knot. Remember to move marker up as you work.

Knit 1 round white.

Popcorn round: While working a second row of white, work a colored popcorn on every other stitch, above ruffle stitches. Popcorns change color after every 5th one on original hat. See *Techniques* for Knitted Popcorn instructions.

Knit 1 round with red.

Purl 2 rounds red.

With chartreuse, knit 1 round and purl 1 round.

With white, knit 1 round. Work a second round adding colored popcorn stitches.

Eyelet round: *YO, K2 tog., repeat from * around to marker.

Knit 2 rounds more in white, adding colored popcorn stitches on the second round.

With chartreuse, knit 1 round and purl 1 round.

With red, knit 1 round and purl 2 rounds.

With dark green, knit 2 rounds.

Work *Graph A*, stairstep pattern beginning at marker (multiple of 4 stitches).

With orange, knit 1 round.

Decrease round: K2 tog. at the beginning of each needle. (120 stitches.)

Knit 1 round red.

Work starflowers, *Graph B* beginning at marker. If you wish to make each flower petal a different color, use the *zig-zag intarsia* method of bringing the color across the back from left to right, in place to knit with on the next round. See *Techniques*.

Knit 1 round with red and 2 rounds with orange.

Work small step design, *Graph C* over next 2 rounds.

Knit 2 rounds dark green, adding colored popcorn stitches in the second round.

Conical Top: Knit 1 round white.

Decrease round: *K8, K2 tog., repeat from *. (108 stitches, 27 per needle.)

Knit 11 rounds.

Decrease round: *K7, K2 tog., repeat from *. (96 stitches, 24 per needle.)

Knit 10 rounds.

Decrease round: *K9, K2 tog., repeat from *. (80 stitches, 20 per needle.)

Knit 8 rounds.

Decrease round: *K8, K2 tog., repeat from *. (72 stitches, 18 per needle.)

Knit 7 rounds.

Decrease round: *K7, K2 tog., repeat from *. 64 stitches, 16 per needle.

Knit 6 rounds.

Decrease round: *K6, K2 tog., repeat from *. (56 stitches, 14 per needle.)

Knit 5 rounds.

Decrease round: *K5, K2 tog., repeat from *. (48 stitches, 12 per needle.)

Knit 4 rounds.

Decrease round: *K4, K2 tog., repeat from *. (40 stitches, 10 per needle.)

Knit 3 rounds.

Decrease round: On each needle, K3, K2 tog., K3. (28 stitches, 7 per needle.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: On each needle, K2, K2 tog., K2. (20 stitches, 6 per needle.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: On each needle, K2, K2 tog., K1. (16 stitches, 4 per needle.)

At this point, five needles are awkward. Transfer stitches onto two needles and knit with a third.

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: On each needle, K1, K2 tog., K2, K2 tog., K1. (12 stitches, 6 per needle.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: On each needle, K2 tog., K2, SSK. (6 stitches, 3 per needle.)

Knit 1 round.

Decrease round: On each needle, K2 tog., K1. (4 stitches, 2 per needle.)

Break yarn and use a crochet hook to pull end through last 4 stitches. Knot and pull end to inside.

8. La Paz Ruffled Bonnet

This little girl's bonnet worked in coarser yarns is a style available in the markets of La Paz, Bolivia. It is begun at the base and worked toward the top. Brightly-colored raised designs in popcorn stitch are worked around the front of the cap only. These decorations may be knit-in, as cap is made, crocheted on, or embroidered onto completed cap. An eyelet-increase ruffle is added onto the front of the cap by picking up stitches around the bottom edge. The white ruffle is typically bound off in a bright color to trim it.



Yarns: Wool, Group C:

■ wine or black, 100 grams

□ white, 50 grams

■ 2-3 yards of royal blue, navy, yellow, red and 6 or 8 other colors for popcorn stitches.

Background colors for each graph are indicated in the instructions.

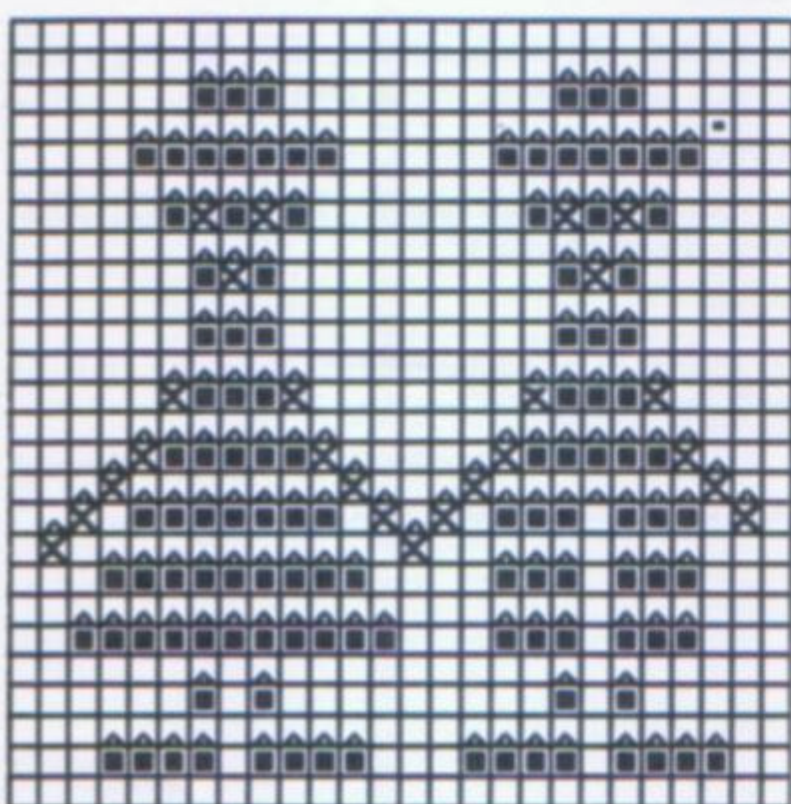
Note: On the original hat, faces are white with red eyes and mouth, and the feet/legs are the same color as the first row of pant/skirt color. The joined hand/arms between figures are the same color, eliminating one color change.

Needles: Set of 5 double-pointed needles, size 2
Small gold and silver safety pins for markers.

Gauge: 14 stitches = 2 inches.

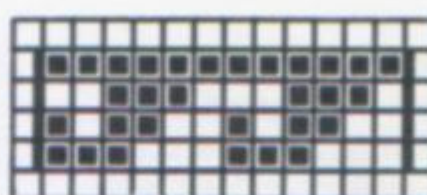
Size: Circumference, 18 inches. Hat will stretch to fit most children from 3 to 8 years of age.

For a *larger size*, follow children's directions but cast on 108 stitches and add 2 more wave motifs plus one more navy circle in the middle of the back. Numbers for larger size are in (). When only one number is given, use it for both sizes.

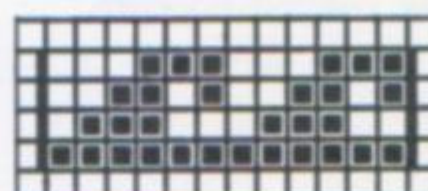


Graph A

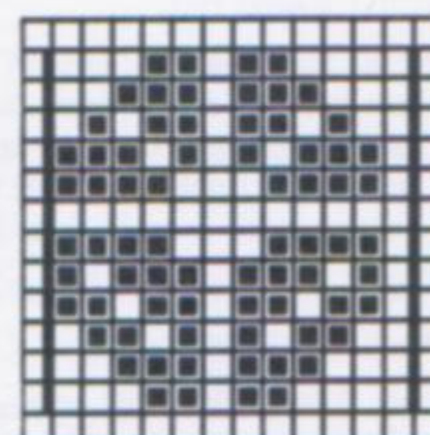
■ = popcorn stitch over 2 rows.



Graph B



Graph D



Graph C

Instructions

Cast on 96 stitches. Place 24 (27) stitches on 4 dp needles. Join, place a marker for center back and work in the round.

Purl 2 rounds wine.

Knit 1 round blue.

Purl 3 rounds blue.

Knit 3 rounds wine.

See *Techniques* for making knitted popcorn stitches.

On original hat, popcorn motifs do not appear on center back 25 stitches, but circle/wave motif encircles hat.

K16 (18) stitches with wine.

Continuing with wine background, work the people/diamond design in brightly-colored popcorn stitches following *Graph A*.

After the last round of the figure graph, K3 (5) rounds wine. Count to be sure there are 96 (108) stitches.

Work the four rounds of *Graph B* using wine and yellow. (16 (18) wave repeats.)

Knit 1 round navy and one round white.

Work *Graph C* using navy and white.

Knit 1 round white.

Decrease round: With navy, decrease 6 stitches evenly spaced around the cap. (90 (102) stitches.)

Work *Graph D* using wine and yellow. (15 (17) waves.)

Decrease round: With wine, K2 tog. at beginning of each needle. (86 (98) stitches.)

Large size: Knit 2 rounds wine.

K 24 stitches with wine.

Work *Graph E* with wine and multicolored scraps for 5 popcorn diamonds across the front of cap.

Note that the 14th round of *Graph E* is a decrease

round as follows: K2 tog. between each diamond and on the same round, decrease 4 stitches evenly spaced across the back of the bonnet in the plain wine section for a total of 8 decreases. (78 (90) stitches.)

Top shaping: Top shaping decreases are worked at each side. Adjust stitches on needles so that 39 (45) stitches from front are on 2 needles and 39 (45) stitches for back are on 2 needles. The marker should be at the left edge of the cap. Begin shaping at the marker.

Decrease 2 stitches at the beginning of the first and third needles on every round until 4 stitches remain.

Break off yarn and pull the tail through the 4 stitches and knot it inside cap.

Make a multicolored tassel for the top.

Ruffle: The ruffle is knit from picked-up stitches, with eyelet increases begun with multiples of 4 stitches. There is a break in the ruffle at the back of the neck.

Place a silver safety pin marker at center back.

Measure 2¼ inches on either side of marker. Place a gold safety pin at each edge. Remove silver pin.

Hold cap upside down. With white yarn and 4 dp needles, begin at the left-side safety pin. Pick up and knit 60 (68) stitches. This brings you back around approximately to the right-hand pin. If not, add or subtract 4 (or multiples of 4) stitches to arrive at pin.

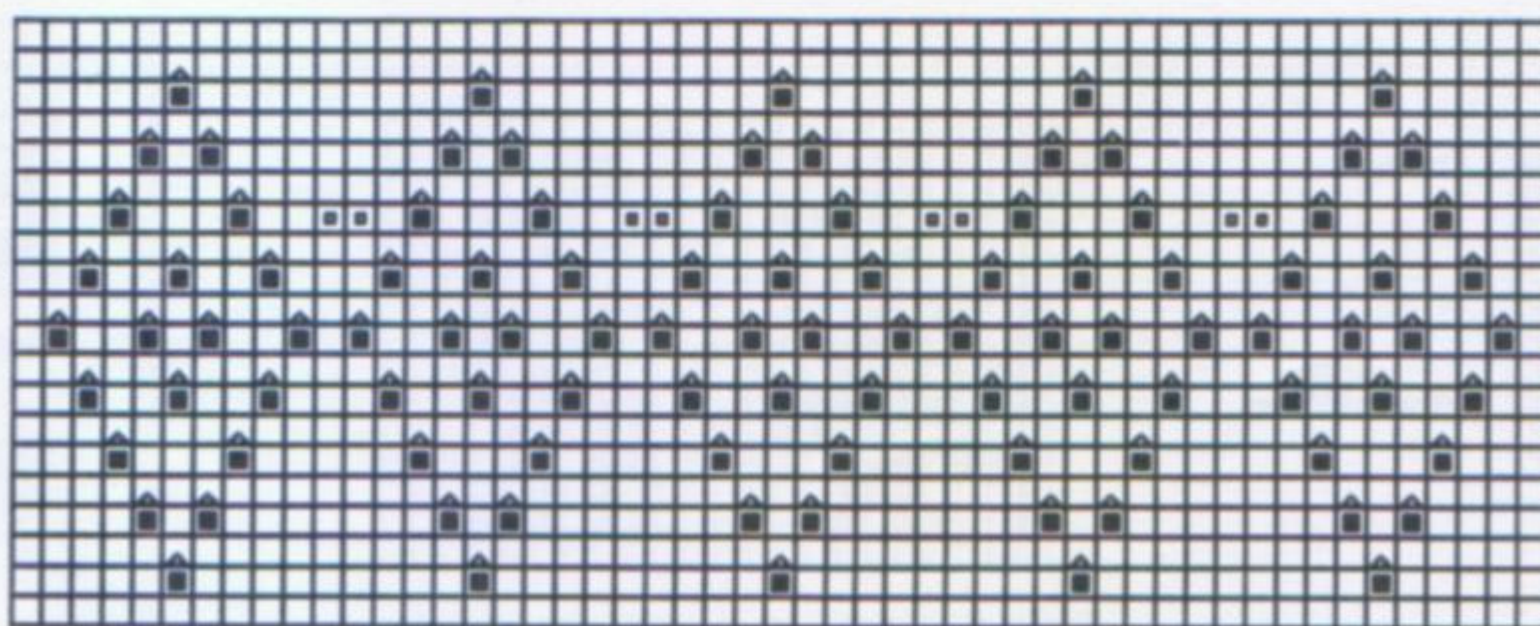
Arrange stitches on 3 needles. Starting at left pin, begin eyelet increases. *YO, K3, repeat from * to end of row. Purl back.

*YO, K4, repeat from *. Purl back.

*YO, K5, repeat from *. Purl back.

Each successive row of eyelet will have one more knit stitch between the increases. You may wish to insert one or two more needles. See *Huancane Bonnet pattern* for detailed instructions.

After 10 rounds, bind off ruffle with a bright color.



■ ■ = K2 together.

9. Rainbow Cap from La Paz

Bright rainbow earflaps and colorful little dancers decorate these popular caps. Although faded and fine examples of version 1 are worn by a few oldsters in the La Paz area, the design composition is fairly recent. This multicolored style with rounded earflaps is considered acceptable by people who need a cap but don't want to look too "Indian." It has become a generic cap, the type that truck drivers use on freezing nights and that wealthy cholas put on tiny baby boys. Some Taquile Island men even wear them under feather headdresses for fiestas. Males from six weeks to sixty years old wear these caps, from Cuzco, Huancané and Puno, Peru, southward to the La Paz region of Bolivia.

Instructions for two top shapes and two multicolored garter stitch earflap shapes are given. Typically, babies wear the more rounded top. (See photo at right) and men wear the longer top style. The rounded earflap is typical of Lake Titicaca and La Paz. The pointed checkered earflap is typical of Oururo and northern Chuquisaca and Potosí Departments. For both models stitches are picked up along the tops of the earflaps to start the cap. The pattern motifs are easy to knit.

Choose the earflap type first, then decide which cap shape you want to add to them.



Yarns: Wools, Group B:

■ forest green, 1 (2) 50 gram balls

□ yellow, 20 grams

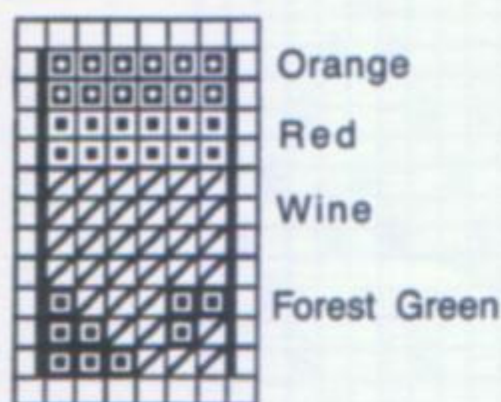
8-10 yard scraps of white, wine, red, orange, yellow, chartreuse, kelly green, bright blue, turquoise, pink, hot pink, coral, and magenta, or other hues as desired.

Colors for each graph are indicated in the instructions.

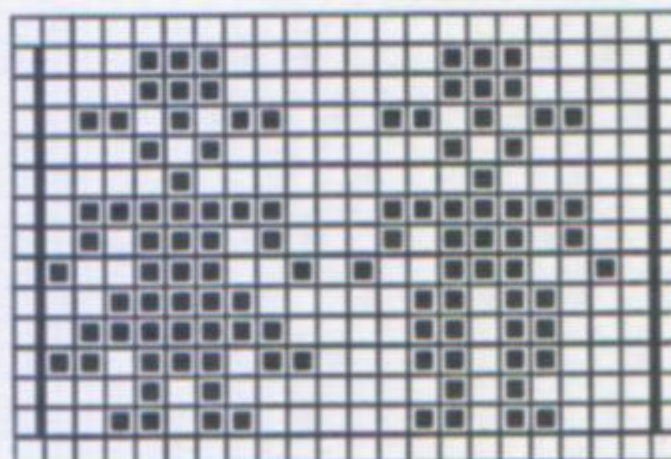
Needles: one set of 5 double-pointed needles, size 2, or size to obtain gauge.

Gauge: 15 stitches = 2 inches.

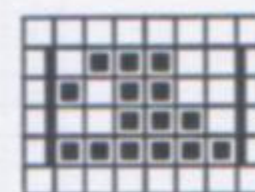
Sizes: Small (1-6 years); Large, (6 years to adult). Instructions for large size appear in (); if only one number is shown, use it for both sizes.



Graph A



Graph B. 4 colors as desired. Change colors for shoes, skirt/pants, faces & hats.



Graph C

Instructions

Note: Use the dancer motifs given, or vary the design (See charts beginning on page 87.) Any motif 20 stitches wide by 13 stitches high could be used for the pattern band. A pattern motif 20 stitches wide by 19 or 23 stitches high could be used if one or both horizontal stripes were eliminated.

Earflap 1. Rainbow Garter Stitch Earflap. Use 2 dp needles for border strip; add a third needle to finish the center area. *Fig. 4.*

Outer strip: Cast on 6 stitches with chartreuse. Knit 10 rows.

Change color and knit 10 more rows. Continue color changes until there are 5 squares.

Center triangle: Change color, knit 3 rows, work triangle in short rows as follows:

K5, turn, S11, K4.

K4, turn, S11, K3.

K3, turn, S11, K2.

K2, turn, S11, K1.

K1, turn. Slide stitches to the other end of dp needle.

Change color, work 5 more squares in 5 more colors.

Center: With forest green, pick up 25 stitches along side of colored strip. Place marker. Pick up 1 stitch each side of triangle point. Place marker. Pick up 25 stitches along remaining side of strip. (52 stitches.)

Knit 1 row (back side).

Change to chartreuse and knit, working a double decrease on each side of marker: S11, K2 tog, PSSO before 1st marker; K3 tog. after 2nd marker.

Knit 1 row.

Knit, working colors in the following sequence, making double decreases on right-side rows before and after markers:

2 rows white.

2 rows coral.

2 rows red.

4 rows wine.

6 rows forest green.

Center seam options: Work knitted seam (A, p. 132) from back side to close center, or dovetail join (B, p. 132) or bind off and sew center seam.

Crocheted Outer edging: With hat cast-on color, work 1 row single crochet around each earflap. With contrasting color, work 1 row slip stitch around hat and earflap edges.

Earflap 2. Checkered Triangular Earflap Use 8 colors coordinating with cap and same weight as cap; called *A* through *H* here. A S11, K1, PSSO decrease is used on each side of the center on *every* row to shape the triangle. It will be referred to as *Decrease 1*. The unusual part is that the yarn has to be stranded on the side of the work *facing you on every other row*, because every row is knit (garter stitch). And since you are *knitting*, yarns have to be flipped back and forth: *in front to strand, then in back to knit with* at every color change. This is really very easy and



Rounded earflap, detail.

quickly becomes habit.

Checker squares are 3 stitches wide and 4 rows high.

With Color A, cast 80 stitches onto one dp needle. Pin safety pin marker between 40th and 41st stitches.

Knit 38 stitches; Decrease 1.

Keep this last stitch before marker on right needle. With a third needle, Decrease 1; Knit to end.

Turn work and attach Color B. Use 3 needles from now on. *Fig. 2.*

Knit *3A, 3B* to within 2 stitches of marker, decrease 1, keeping up the 3/3 color blocks.

Beginning at marker, Decrease 1, continue 3/3 color sequence to end.

When you have made 4 rows of checkers, break off colors A & B; attach color C.

Pattern Sequence: Six-row pattern, 2 plain rows plus 4 rows of checkers. (In first checker band, cast-on row is counted as 1 row)

On all rows: Knit with 3 needles. Decrease 1 at each side of center.

Pattern: Knit 2 plain rows (color C).

Attach next color (D) and work 4 rows of 3/3 D checkers.

Knit 12 more rows of this sequence:

2 rows of colors E; then 4 rows E/F

2 rows of colors G; then 4 rows G/H

Center section: Attach another color and knit plain rows, always working one decrease at each side of center.

When 5-6 stitches remain per needle, break off yarn leaving a 6-inch tail. Thread a large sewing needle; place dp needles parallel and slide stitches to end.

Dovetail join: Dovetail these last stitches together by

pulling the yarn through 1 stitch from left needle then through 1 stitch from right, etc. (*Fig.B* below.) Knot on inside of flap, hide and trim yarn ends.

(Center join could also be worked with knitted seam, or with bind-off and sewn seam.)

Hat: With forest green, and four dp needles, pick up 34 (40) stitches across the top of first earflap, cast on 26 (32) stitches for front, pick up 34 (40) stitches across top of second earflap, cast on 26 (32) stitches for back. 120 (144) stitches. Join into a circle. Continue with forest green.

K 1 round. P 2 rounds. K 5 rounds.

Work *Graph A* with wine and forest green. The 6 stitch multiple is repeated 20 times on small cap and 24 times on large cap.

Small size: Knit 1 round yellow..

Large size: Knit 1 round yellow, decreasing 1 stitch at beginning of each needle. (140 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, work *Graph B*. (*Small size:* 12 people; *large size:* 14 people.)

Knit 1 round yellow, then 2 rounds orange, 2 rounds bright red.

Small size: With wine, decrease 3 stitches evenly spaced along each needle. (108 stitches.)

K 1 round wine.

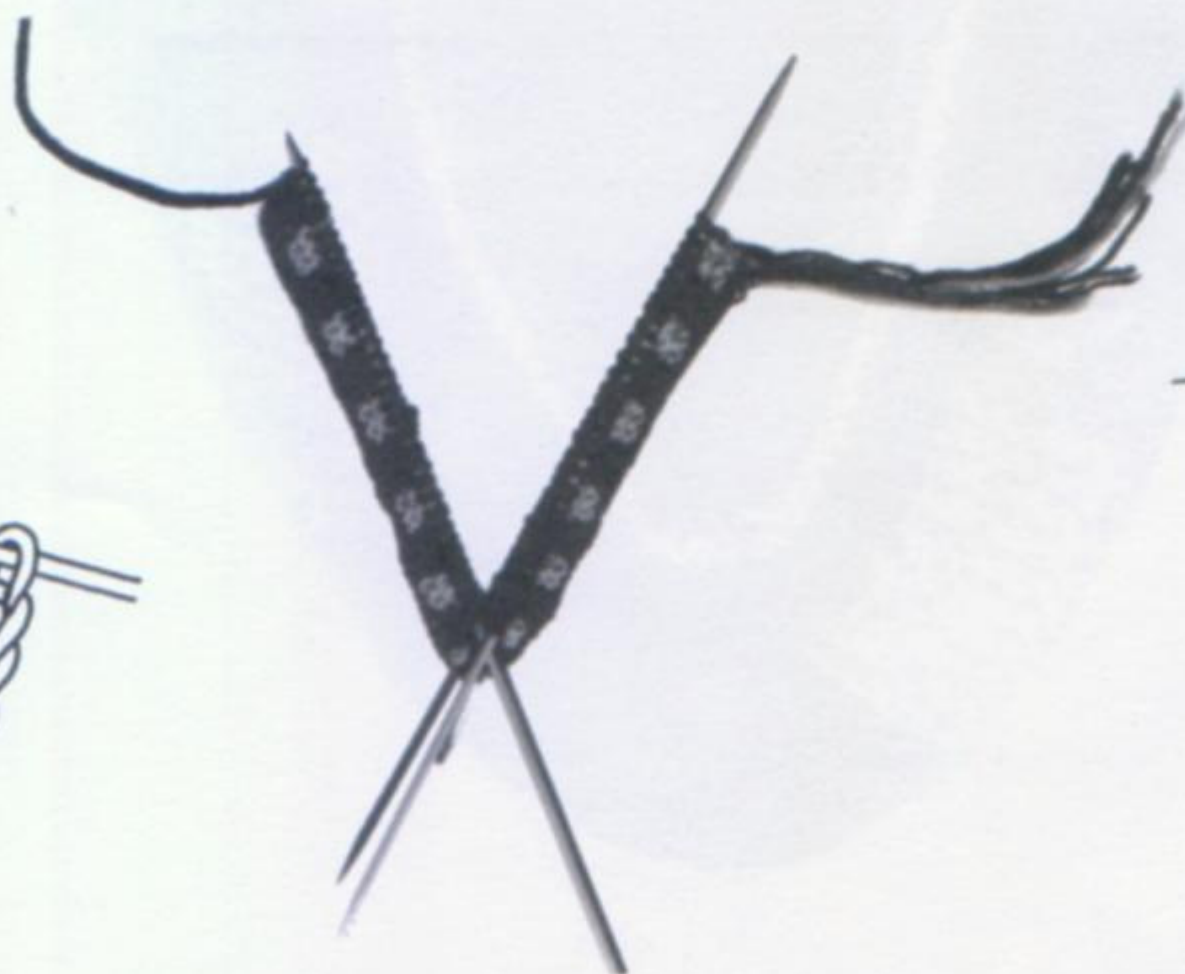
Large size: With wine, K2 tog. at beginning of first and third needles. (138 stitches.) Knit a second wine round, decrease 3 stitches evenly spaced along each needle. (126 stitches.)

Work *Graph C* with wine and forest green. (*Small size:* 18 waves; *large size:* 21 waves.) Break off wine.

Large size: Knit 1 round, decreasing 6 stitches evenly spaced around the cap. (120 stitches, 30 per needle.)



A. Knitted seam.



B. Dovetail join.

Triangular earflap begun with three double-pointed needles.

At this point, with 108 stitches (small size), or 120 stitches (large size) choose a top shape and proceed.

Rounded top: Decrease round: Beginning at marker, *K8, K2 tog*; repeat * to * around to marker. (108 stitches.)

Knit 8 rounds.

Decrease round: *K 7, K2 tog*. (96 stitches.)

Knit 7 rounds.

Decrease round: *K6, K2 tog*. (84 stitches.)

Knit 6 rounds.

Decrease round: *K5, K2 tog*. (72 stitches.)

Knit 5 rounds.

Decrease round: *K4, K2 tog*. (60 stitches.)

Knit 4 rounds.

Decrease round: *K3, K2 tog*. (48 stitches.)

Knit 3 rounds.

Decrease round: *K2, K2 tog*. (36 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: *K1, K2 tog*. (24 stitches.)

Knit 1 round.

Decrease round: *K1, K2 tog*. (16 stitches.)

Break yarn. Draw end through last 16 stitches and knot it securely to close the hole at the top.

Conical Top: Decrease round: *K13, K2 tog*. (112 stitches.)

Knit 13 rounds.

Decrease round: *K12, K2 tog*. (104 stitches.)

Knit 12 rounds.

Decrease round: *K11, K2 tog*. (96 stitches.)

Knit 11 rounds.

Decrease round: *K10, K2 tog*. (88 stitches.)

Knit 10 rounds.

Decrease round: *K9, K2 tog*. (80 stitches.)

Knit 9 rounds.

Decrease round: *K8, K2 tog*. (72 stitches.)

Knit 8 rounds.

Decrease round: *K7, K2 tog*. (64 stitches.)

Knit 7 rounds.

Decrease round: *K6, K2 tog*. (56 stitches.)

Knit 6 rounds.

Decrease round: *K5, K2 tog*. (48 stitches.)

Knit 5 rounds.

Decrease round: *K4, K2 tog*. (40 stitches.)

Knit 4 rounds.

Decrease round: *K3, K2 tog*. (32 stitches.)

Knit 3 rounds.

Decrease round: *K2, K2 tog*. (24 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease round: *K1, K2 tog*. (16 stitches.)

Break yarn. Draw end through last 16 stitches and knot it securely to close the hole at the top.

Finishing: Crochet Trim: With forest green, work one row of single crochet around each earflap.

With pink, work one row of slip stitch around hat and earflap edges.



Triangular earflap, detail.

10. Ccatca Cap

These multicolored caps are still worn by men and boys of the Ccatca region near Cuzco, Peru and are also often found in the Cuzco tourist market. The men usually knit their own caps but women make most of the ones found in the market. The older hats are worked in finer yarns and stitches than today's versions. The baby boy pictured on *page 15* models a beautiful example.

This cap is knit from the bottom edge to the top. When the cap is completed, stitches are picked up along each side to knit triangular earflap sections. Finally, a separate scalloped and checkered band is knit and hand-stitched onto the outer edges of the triangle, rounding out the shape.

For a cap in traditional hues, very dark brown (natural "black" sheep's wool) is carried throughout and combined with one other color per section to form the decorative patterning. This project requires patience, but is not as difficult as those using more than two colors per row. Five colors are used at once in small sections of the earflaps. They are so small that knitting them is easy — back and forth on two needles.



Yarns: Fine wool, Group A

■ natural black, two 50 gram balls

□ yellow 25 grams (a rather muted dull yellow)

plus small amounts of:

spring green, red, bright pink, ecru, dark green,
purple, coral

Colors for each graph are indicated in instructions.

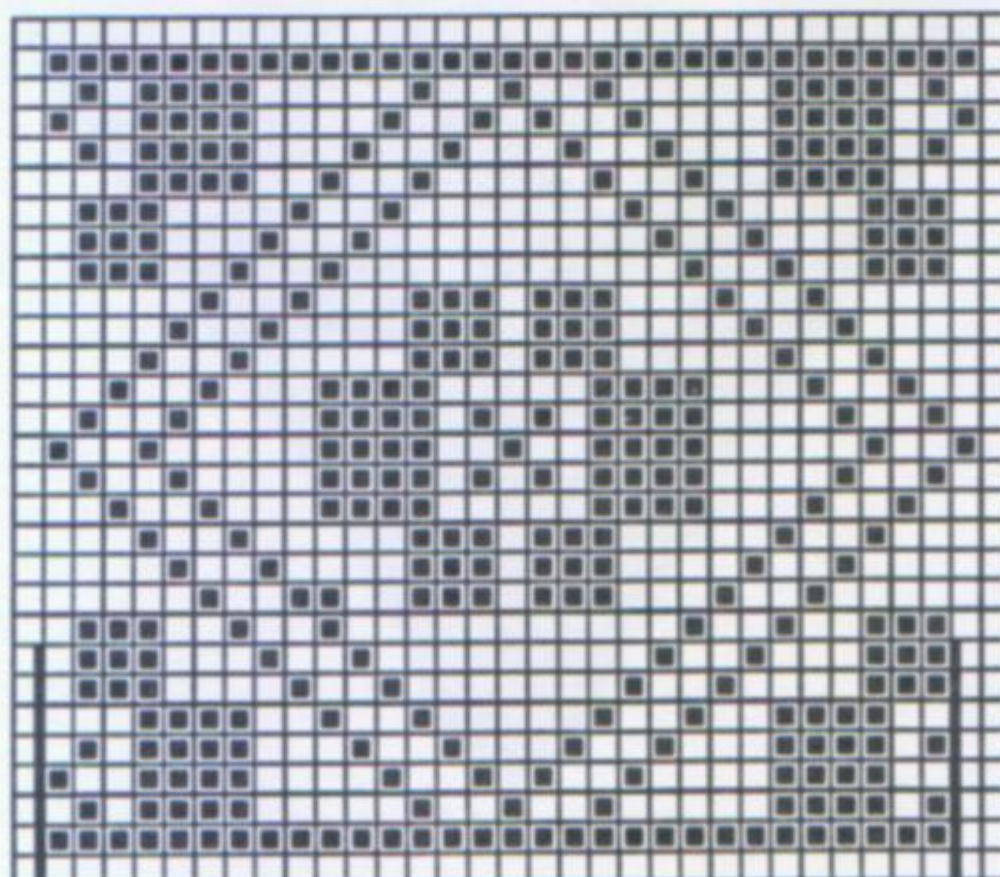
Needles: One set of 5 double-pointed needles size 2

Steel crochet hook, size 5

Gauge: 18 stitches = 2 inches.

Size: Circumference is about 20 inches. Larger needles and Group B yarn will make a larger hat.

Graph A



Instructions

Scalloped Edging (Puntas): With bright pink yarn and crochet hook, make a loose chain about 32 inches long.

Make 46 tiny puntas, See *Techniques*, ending scallops with one round purple. Attach scallops to form a circle (tie end yarn into beginning).

Knit back across row with brown, dividing stitches among 4 dp needles, 45 per needle. (180 stitches.)

Base of hat: Place a safety pin marker at join. This marker will remain in place throughout the project and will help determine where to place earflaps.

Pin a second safety pin marker between the two stitches at the join to show where rounds begin. Move this marker up every inch or so to keep track of the rounds.

Count the stitches; there should be 180 at this point. If there are too many or too few, make the necessary decreases or increases evenly spaced around the next row (coral).

Knit 1 round coral; Purl 2 rounds coral.

Knit 1 round brown; Purl 2 rounds brown.

Purled Checkered Border: First Band: Beginning at marker, Knit 1 round of *2 yellow, 2 brown* around.

Purl 3 rounds of *2 yellow, 2 brown*. Keep yellow above yellow and brown above brown, to form little squares.

Second Band: Knit 1 round of *2 brown, 2 red* around.

Purl 3 rounds of *2 brown, 2 red*.

Third Band: Knit 1 round of *2 green, 2 brown*.

Purl 3 rounds of same green/brown sequence.

Fourth Band: Knit 1 round of *2 brown, 2 pink*.

Purl 3 rounds of same brown/pink sequence.

Hat: Knit 1 round brown; Purl 2 rounds brown.

Knit 1 round ecru; Purl 2 rounds ecru.

Knit 1 round brown. (180 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, work 3 rounds of "comb" design as follows:

* K1 brown, K1 coral* around, keeping brown above brown and coral above coral in thin vertical lines.

Knit 1 round coral; Knit 1 round brown.

Work 3 more rounds of 2-row "comb" design using 1 brown, 1 spring green around.

Knit 1 round spring green.

Work *Graph A* with yellow ground and brown. There will be 6 complete repeats of the graph motif around.

Decrease Round: With pink, beginning at marker, *K2 tog., K7,* repeat between *s around to marker. (160 stitches.)

Knit comb pattern, 1 brown, 1 pink for 3 rounds.

Decrease Round: With brown, *K2 tog., K8* (144 stitches.)

Knit 1 round ecru.

Knit comb pattern, 1 brown, 1 ecru for 3 rounds.

Decrease Round: With brown, K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (136 stitches.)

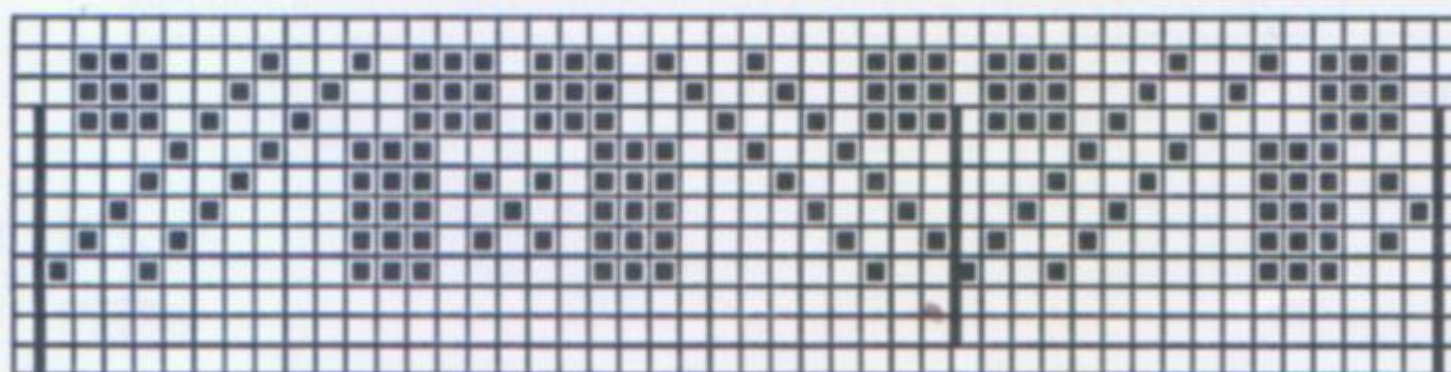
Knit *Graph B* with red ground and brown motifs, working each round from *a* to *b* four times, then from *b* to *c* once. There will be 4 1/2 motifs over 136 stitches, a modified partial version of *Graph A*.

Decrease Round: With dark green, K2 tog., K4; *K2 tog., K8* (122 stitches.)

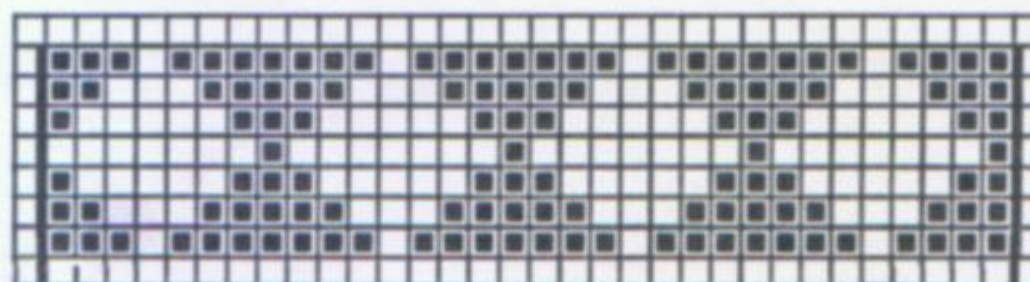
Beginning at marker, work comb pattern, 1 brown, 1 dark green for 3 rounds.

Decrease Round: With brown, K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (114 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, work comb pattern of 1 brown, 1 pink for 3 rounds.



Graph B



Graph C

Decrease Round: With brown, Decrease 4 stitches evenly spaced along each needle. (16 decreases, 98 stitches.)

Decrease Round: With brown, K2 tog. at beginning of first and third needles. (96 stitches.)

Work *Graph C* with brown ground and pink diamonds. (12 diamonds.)

Decrease Round: With brown, *K2 tog., K6* around. (84 stitches.)

K 1 round brown.

Decrease Round: With yellow, *K2 tog., K4 * until 5 stitches remain; K2 tog., K3. (64 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, work comb pattern, 1 brown, 1 yellow for 3 rounds.

Decrease Round: With brown, *K2 tog., K6* around. (56 stitches.)

Beginning at marker, work comb pattern, 1 brown, 1 red for 3 rounds.

Break off red and continue with brown to shape top.

Top Shaping: Decrease 4 stitches evenly spaced along each needle. (16 decreases; 40 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease Round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (32 stitches.)

Knit 2 rounds.

Decrease Round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (24 stitches.)

Knit 1 round.

Decrease Round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (16 stitches.)

Knit 1 round.

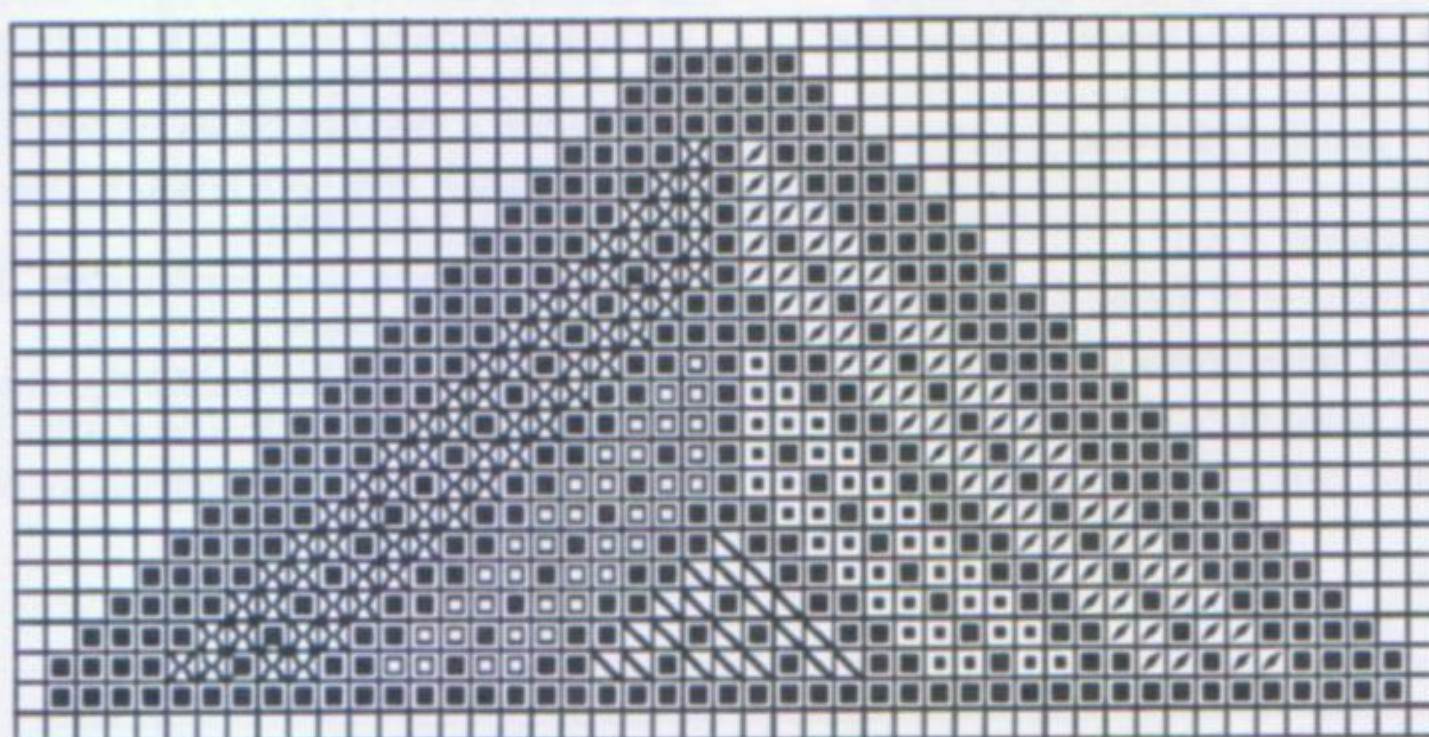
Decrease Round: K2 tog. at beginning and middle of each needle. (8 stitches.)

Knit 1 round.

Knit the 2 stitches on each needle together and break off yarn, leaving a 4-inch tail. Pull tail end through last 4 stitches with the crochet hook, closing the hole at top. Secure end inside cap.

Earflaps: Only two needles are needed to knit the earflaps.

To determine earflap placement, lay the cap flat with the permanent pin marker at center back. With straight pins, mark the middle of each side edge by pinning into the center of the scallop closest to the midline.



Graph D

-  Red
-  Gold
-  Pink
-  Ecru
-  Green
-  Dk. Brown

Count 5 scallops in each direction and put a small safety pin at each end. The distance between pins should be approximately 5 inches. The section between pins is where an earflap will be knit.

With pink (or brown as on the original), pick up and knit 4 stitches along the pink edge chain of *each* of the 11 scallops. (44 stitches.)

Working with the top of the cap pointing downward, knit *Graph D* back and forth, using short lengths of the five colors.

The triangle is shaped by working decreases at the beginning and end of each row.

Scalloped, checkered borders for earflaps: After each border strip is knit, bind the stitches off tightly, curving the piece to make it fit nicely around the edge of the triangle. See photo below.

Make 22 tiny puntas to begin the borders, and knit the last row in brown.

Knit 1 row dark green.

Purl 1 row dark green.

Work a firmly-knit band of yellow/brown checkers, 2 stitches by 2 rows. The first row of a new color will

be on the right side. (See checkered border of cap, above).

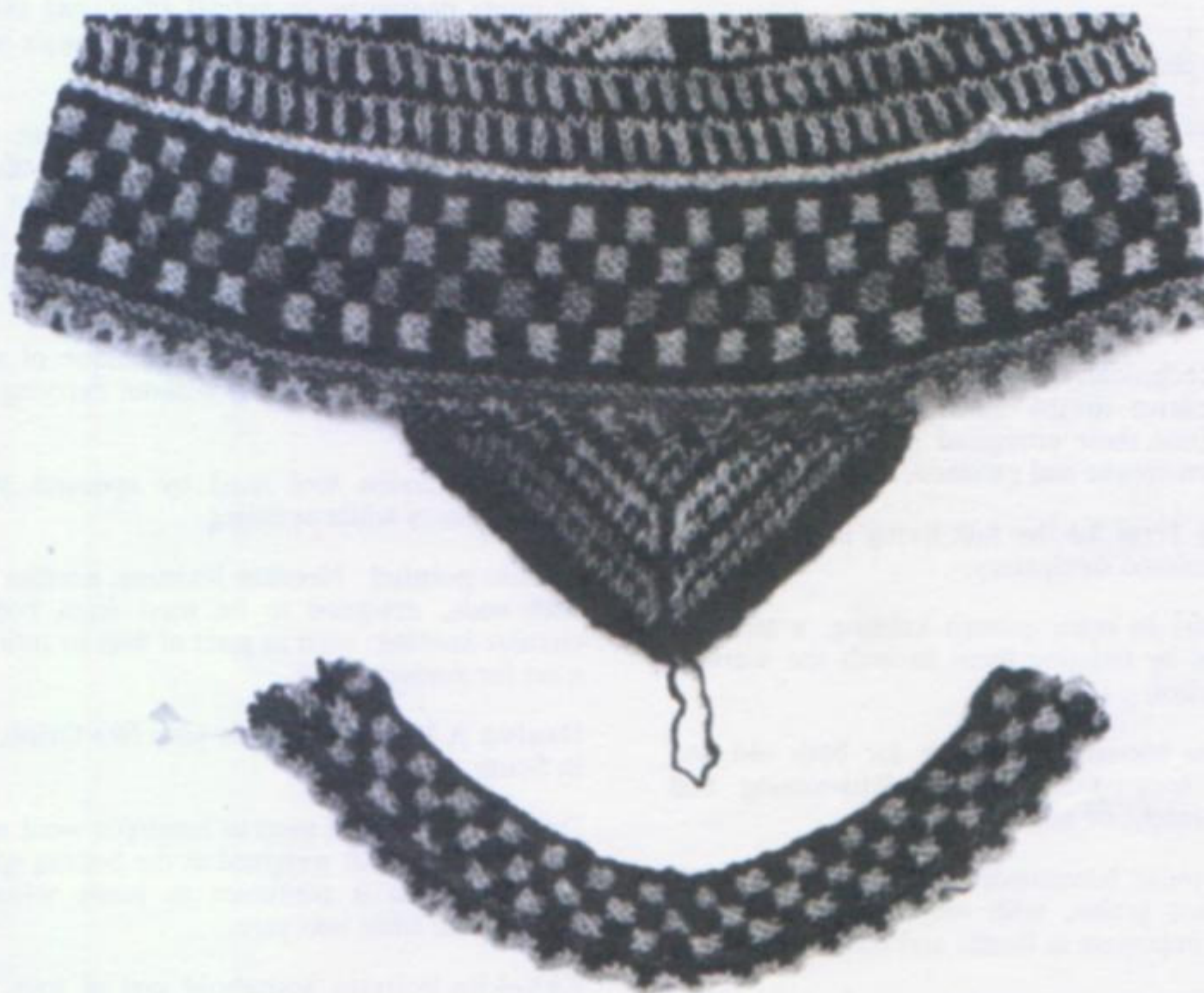
Work a band of pink/brown 2/2 checkers.

Work a band of spring green/brown 2/2 checkers.

Bind off all stitches firmly with dark brown.

With dark brown and a yarn needle, neatly stitch the bound-off curved edge of the band onto the triangular of the earflap.

Stitch the tops of the triangles to the cap at markers.



Detail, earflap with separately-knit checkered border.

GLOSSARY

Q = Quechua, A = Aymara, Sp = Spanish

Aksu (Q.) Rectangular handwoven women's garment usually made from two pieces stitched together, worn wrapped around like a skirt.

Allyu (Q.) A community social unit based on geographical and family ties and shared labor.

Alpaca Camel family member (camelid) native to the Andes; domesticated for valuable hair used in woven and knitted textiles, and for meat.

Altiplano (Sp.) The high plateau stretching from southern Peru into central Bolivia; 70% of the Bolivian population lives on this windswept area where the average altitude is 12,000 feet. The altiplano is not really flat since the Western Cordillera of the Andes divides it into basins.

Ahuayo (A.) or **Awayo** (Sp.) Squarish handwoven cloth made from two pieces stitched together, used for carrying babies, foodstuffs, etc.

Aymara Language spoken by the *Colla*, people who refused to adopt the Quechua language and culture the Incas attempted to impose upon them; today Aymara-speakers live on the altiplano around Lake Titicaca and La Paz and in small settlements elsewhere.

Bayeta (Sp.) Homespun plain weave fabric usually made of black or white undyed wool, woven by men on upright treadle looms.

Bolero (Sp.) Short jacket or vest.

Bolsa (Sp.) A bag or purse which may be knit or woven.

Brillantes (Sp.) Chemical aniline dyes first imported to the Andes in the late 1800s.

Buyto (Q.) Woven fabric with geometric designs, usually used for skirt borders.

Camelid fibers Technically called "hair," the coat of various camelids native to the Andes; the domesticated alpaca and llama (and their crossbred offspring), and the wild and little-known vicuña and guanaco.

Campesino/a (Sp.) Term for the folk living in the country or *campo*, not considered derogatory.

Catching-up (floats) In color pattern knitting, a term for securing long floats by twisting them in with the working yarn every few stitches.

Challa (Q.) Festive blessing ceremony for both old and new possessions, accompanied by confetti-tossing and libations of grape brandy, or *singani*.

Chicha (Q.) A popular homemade fermented drink made from maize or other grains, with varying percentages of alcohol; especially important at fiestas and offerings.

Cholo/a (Sp.) Indigenous or mestizo people who wear factory-made clothing, live in cities and generally shun native traditions.

Chullo (Sp.) An indigenous-style handmade knit cap. On Taquile and Amantani Islands, Peru, a **chullo soltero** is a bachelor's cap. A **pintay chullo** is a married man's cap.

Ch'ullu or **ch'ulu** (Q.) Same as above. **Lluchu** is the Aymara word.

Chuspa (Q.) Bag or pouch used for carrying coca leaves, usually woven although some are knit; most chuspas have special little pockets for the lime catalyst ingested with the leaves.

Circular Knitting Knitting worked in the round with a set of double-pointed needles (or a circular needle, though it is not used in the Andes), resulting in a fabric without seams; also called knitting in the round.

Coca Bag Small bag, usually woven, for carrying a supply of coca leaves. See: **Chuspa**.

Coca leaves From *kuka* (Q.), the dried leaves of *Erythroxylon coca* which contain alkaloids including cocaine. Used as a stimulant and appetite depressant, coca leaves are chewed with a bit of an alkaline such as lime for a catalyst. Also used for religious offerings and sacrifices in various rituals. Coca leaf tea is said to be good for altitude sickness, *soroche*, and is available in Andean cafes. Piles of the oval grey-green leaves are for sale in every market, but possession of processed cocaine is illegal in all Andean countries.

Cordilleras (Sp.) Various ranges of the Andes Mountains, with numerous peaks over 20,000 feet high.

Costales (Sp.) Coarsely-woven bags for carrying grain and other market merchandise.

Crimp The twists and bends naturally present to a greater or lesser degree in an animal fiber, and affecting the ease with which the fiber can be spun. Sheep's wool has a tight crimp, making it relatively easy to spin.

Cross-Knit Looping A single-element needle-worked fabric construction technique similar to three-dimensional embroidery, used to make small figures or borders in pre-Hispanic times. It looks like knitting with a crossed stitch. Used today as a simple edging on some bags and woven textiles.

Diagonal Color Accents A technique of adding in small areas of color into knitting without carrying the extra color all around the piece.

Distaff Wooden tool used by spinners to hold carded, unspun fibers while spinning.

Double-pointed Needles Knitting needles with points at both ends, designed to be used from both directions in circular knitting; used as a set of four or more, typically 5 to a set for Andean work.

Dralon A kind of synthetic yarn like Orlon, made and used in South America.

Drop Spindle Tool used to handspin wool and other fibers. Consists of a shaft weighted at the bottom with a wooden or clay whorl so it continues to rotate when twirled, thus twisting the fiber into yarn.

Ekkekko Bolivian household god of love, good luck and plentitude; depicted wearing a knit cap or chullo and loaded down with possessions.

Eyelet Lace knitting technique using yarn wrapped over needles to make holes, or eyelets.

Feria (Sp.) A fair or market. **Feria de ganados** is a livestock market.

Garter Stitch Knitting pattern formed by knitting every row producing a corrugated texture.

Gauge The number of stitches (and rows) counted in a specific dimension of a knitted fabric. Gauge indicates fineness or coarseness of the knit and is expressed here as *stitches per 2 inches*. An average gauge for Andean knitted items is 25 to 30 stitches per 2 inches.

Gorro (Sp.) Close-fitting cap; a ch'ullu or chullo.

Half Hitch Knot A simple knot formed by looping one strand around another.

Highlands The Andean regions above 10,000 feet; may be high mountain valleys or plateaus. **Highlanders** are the people who live there.

Ikat Resist-dye textile decoration technique produced by binding specific areas of the yarn before weaving or knitting, to resist the dye bath. Not commonly used in the Andes for either woven or knit textiles, ikat is used in only one area for patterning the knitting yarn. Called **watado** in Quechua, the international term ikat is of Indonesian origin.

Indigena/s (Sp.) A noun meaning "indigenous person or people" which Andean villagers use to refer to themselves.

Intarsia Knitting A flat knitting technique in which separate color sections are knit in a single row.

Intarsia Joins Methods of joining *rows* of intarsia knitting into *rounds*. An adaptation of flat knitting into a circular format.

Inti (Q.) Inca sun symbol depicted as a diamond-shaped motif in knitting and weaving.

K'enko (Q.) Snake or meandering river pattern, used mainly on needle-woven **ribete** edgings.

Kurti (Q.) Knitted and woven textile style with motifs arranged in rows of squares with alternating background colors; typical of chullus and belts made by the Laymi group of Cala Cala in northern Potosí Department.

Lana (Sp.) Literally "wool" or yarn; usually means sheep's wool or *lana de oveja*, now even used as *lana de acrylica*.

Llama Domesticated camelid family member native to the Andes; the llama has a very thick coat, and is used mainly as a beast of burden.

Llauto An Inca headband or turban made with cross-knit looping.

Lliclla (Q.) A woman's mantle, or carrying cloth.

Mangas (Sp.) Literally, sleeves, referring to knitted armwarmers worn in some areas.

Manta (Sp.) A square cloth used worn around the shoulders or as a carrying cloth. Same as *awayo* or *lliclla*.

Mantle Cloak or shawl.

Maquitos (Q/Sp.) Term for armwarmers used in Huancavelica Department, Peru.

Medias (Sp.) Socks or stockings

Mercado (Sp.) Market, usually composed of numerous vendors who set up their wares in stalls daily or weekly. Functions as grocery store, restaurant and hardware store in small villages.

Mestizo/a (Sp.) General term for people of mixed indigenous and European descent.

Monedero (Sp.) Purse or coin purse

Montera (Sp.) Felted hat of European/western style.

Pacha Mama (Q.) Mother Earth, worshipped by pre- and post-conquest Andean peoples.

Paracas Name of the pre-Hispanic culture which inhabited the Paracas Peninsula on the southern coast of Peru, famous for fabulous textiles excavated from tombs; today Paracas also refers to the nearby town.

Pasamontaña (Sp.) A knit cap with earflaps; also ch'ullu or gorro.

Piñes (Sp.) Glass seed beads used in decorating some knit and woven textiles; rather expensive in the local economy.

Plain weave Elementary woven structure in which single wefts pass over and under single warps.

Ply Thin strands of yarn twisted or plied together to make up a single thicker strand.

Polainas (Sp.) Knitted leggings worn by men in the Tarabuco area of Bolivia for particular festivities.

Pollera (Sp.) Full gathered skirt with tucks at the hem, worn by Andean women and girls. Cholas wear polleras made of solid colors in wool for everyday, and velvet, satin and silky fabrics for special occasions.

Poncho (Sp.) Square or rectangular handwoven outer garment worn by men.

Popcorn stitch Knitting stitch producing a little knob, made by increasing one stitch to three, knitting back and forth on the increased stitches, then decreasing back to one stitch. Often done in contrasting colors to form patterns.

Post-Conquest Refers to events or objects dating from 1532 when the Spaniards took control of Peru.

Puna Brava The Bolivian altiplano.

Puntas (Sp.) Scalloped knit trim at the edge of knit caps and purses; also called **pica-pica** (Q.).

Quechua One of the original cultural and language groups living in Peru when the Incas began their conquests; the Quechua language became the official language of the Incas. Refers to the language and to the Quechua-speaking descendants of the Incas.

Rejilla (Sp.) Flexible net-like knitting stitch made by working yarn-overs and decreases.

Ribete (Sp.) Needle-woven tubular edging worked onto perimeters of woven textiles as decorative reinforcement; occasionally used on edges of knit caps and purses. A round cord version of ribete is sometimes used for purse straps.

Short-Row Shaping Knitting technique of working partial rows to shape a piece. the knitting is turned before a row is completed, and worked back to the next turning point.

Sierra (Sp.) In Peru, refers to the Andean mountain area.

Single-Element Techniques Fabric construction methods of interlooping or knotting one strand of yarn such as knitting, netting or crochet.

Stockinette Stitch A knitted surface consisting of knit rows on one side, and purl rows on the other side.

Stranding The technique of carrying unused colors across the inside of the work in color pattern knitting; the strands are also called **floats**.

Tejido (Sp.) Noun: A woven textile; Adj: woven; from *tejer*, to weave. **Tejido en puntos** (Sp.) knitting.

Tocapu An ancient design arrangement used on Incan woven garments. Orderly squares or rectangles contain pictograph-like motifs.

Twining Used in the Andes as a decorative needle-worked edge binding on purses and bags from Taquile and Amantani Islands. A warp-twined edging involves attaching two warp strands to an edge and twisting them in opposite directions while stitching a weft thread through each twist and into the fabric, thereby tacking down the warp. This particular method is called **countered twining**.

Twist The direction and angle at which the fibers of a yarn have been twisted as a result of the spinning process. **S-twist** yarn produced by counter-clockwise spinning; **Z-twist** is produced by clockwise spinning.

Ukukku Festival dancer wearing fringed part bear/part man costume at Q'olliyur Riiti, or Snow Star Fiesta, Peru.

Vicuña Wild camelid family member with fine golden-tan hair; once endangered, now protected and making a comeback in reserves.

Viscacha A chinchilla family rodent the size of a large domestic cat, with longish ears, a bushy tail and soft fur; often depicted in Andean textiles.

Watado (Q.) From *watay*, to tie. Textile patterning technique of resist-dyeing yarn before knitting, or more commonly before weaving; also called **ikat**.

Weaving In knitting, a technique for catching-up or weaving the unused color in with the working yarn; commonly used in the Andes.

Whorl The wooden or ceramic weight at the bottom of a spindle; makes the spindle rotate when twirled.

Zigzag intarsia Andean technique of including isolated areas of many colors in *circular* knitting. The working yarn is brought back across the stitches that were knit in the last round, ready to begin the new round in that color section.

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Colophon

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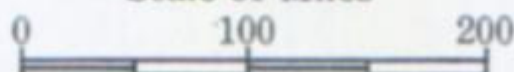
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PRINCIPAL CITIES BOLIVIA

Scale of Miles



MAP NO. SA 2

LEGEND

- ⊙ National Capitals
- Capital of Department

POPULATION KEY

- Over 100,000
- ⊙ 50,000 to 100,000
- ⊕ 25,000 to 50,000
- ⊖ 15,000 to 25,000
- ⊗ 10,000 to 15,000
- 5,000 to 10,000
- Under 5,000



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Andean Folk Knitting

Traditions and Techniques from Peru and Bolivia



Foreword by Loren McIntyre. *Andean Folk Knitting* examines the colorful knitted accessories made in Peru and Bolivia. Andean knitwear includes caps, *ch'ullus*; leggings, *polainas*; small bags and coin purses, *monederos*. This finely-crafted knitting is often done by men, and is an important textile tradition of the region. The author presents knitted items within their cultural context, with information on regional design characteristics. Knitters will find several unusual techniques described, plus charts for over 100 regional design motifs, detailed instructions for 10 projects: two purses, leggings, two basic caps, three ruffled caps, and two caps with earflaps. The text is pro-

fusely illustrated with line drawings, color plates and black-and-white photos.

This award-winning book is the first detailed study of the folk knitting of the Andes. Cynthia Gravelle Le-Count is an art historian, artist and photographer who has done extensive fieldwork among the knitters of Peru and Bolivia. Her knowledge of and love for the indigenous Andean people enlivens every page of the text.

"Altogether captivating, this volume offers more than an historical overview — it is a well-written how-to book as well." —Donna Bulesco, *Vogue Knitting*



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